THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF GREECE AND ROME

Studies in Honour of Anthony Snodgrass

Edited by
John Bintliff
and Keith Rutter

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Frontispiece Anthony Snodgrass, July 2014. Photo: courtesy Annemarie Künzl-Snodgrass.

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Preface

Over the course of his long and illustrious career as Lecturer, Reader and Professor in Edinburgh University (1961–76), Lawrence Professor of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge (1976–2001) and currently Fellow of the McDonald Institute of Archaeology at Cambridge, Anthony Snodgrass has influenced and been associated with a long series of eminent Classical linguists, historians and archaeologists.

In November 2014 a special conference took place in Magdelene College, Cambridge to celebrate Anthony's eightieth birthday. Out of this meeting two edited *Festschrift* volumes have been prepared. The first provides articles written for Anthony by his former students. That will appear under the editorship of Lisa Nevett and James Whitley as a monograph of the McDonald Institute at Cambridge: *An Age of Experiment: Classical Archaeology Transformed (1976–2014)*.

In acknowledgement of his immense academic achievement this second volume offers special papers contributed by friends and colleagues reflecting his wide-ranging research interests: Greek prehistory, the Greek Iron Age and Archaic era, Greek texts and archaeology, Classical art history, societies on the fringes of the Greek and Roman world, and regional field survey.

The intellectual circle of a great senior academic is reflected in this collection of essays that bring fresh insights into the history, art and archaeology of the ancient Greek and Roman Worlds.

John Bintliff, Keith Rutter
Edinburgh, December 2015

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List of Abbreviations

The abbreviations used for journals are listed here. Standard abbreviations are used for classical authors and works.

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut*
AAA	*Athens Annals of Archaeology*
AIIN	*Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica*
AION	*Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
ANKH	*Revue d'Egyptologie et des Civilisations Africains/ Journal of Egyptology and African Civilisations*
Ann. Ist.	*Annali dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*
ArchDelt	*Archaiologikon Deltion*
ASAtene	*Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*
ASNP	*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*
BABESCH	*BABESCH: Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology (formerly Bulletin Antieke Beschaving)*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, London*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
Bull. Com. Arch.	*Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CRAI	*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HSCPh	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JWI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
Kokalos	*Kokalos: Studi Pubblicati dalla Sezione di Storia Antica del Dipartimento dei Beni Culturali dell'Università di Palermo*

LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*
MDAI (A)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
MDAI (R)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
Mem. Linc.	*Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei: Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*
Mus. Helv.	*Museum Helveticum*
ORSTOM	*Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer*
PCPhS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
REG	*Revue des Etudes Grecques*
Rend. Pont.	*Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
TAPhA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
Vichiana	*Vichiana: Rassegna di Studi Classici*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papryologie und Epigraphik*

Section I

Prehistory

1

'The Coming of the Greeks' and All That

Oliver Dickinson

I WELCOME THIS opportunity to offer a token of my great esteem to Anthony, with whom I have discussed questions of Greek prehistory, especially the end of the Bronze Age and the early Iron Age, on many occasions.[1] I hope that this rather short, slightly informal and not entirely academic offering will interest him, for it relates to a theme that has always been at the centre of his work, the continuity of Greek society, and its focus is on an idea that has played a role in the traditional interpretation of the prehistory of Greece since the beginnings of the subject.

My title is deliberately chosen to reflect that of the comic account of British history *1066 and All That* (Sellar and Yeatman 1930), for the same reason that I entitled a previous paper 'The Catalogue of Ships and All That' (Dickinson 1999a). In both cases I used it to indicate how an idea has become so embedded in the general consciousness of the educated as to be readily accepted as 'what everyone thinks' – or rather 'remembers', since, as the authors of *1066 and All That* point out in their Compulsory Preface, 'History is not what you thought. *It is what you can remember*' (Sellar and Yeatman 1930: vii). This makes a serious point. Some explanatory models seem to have such appeal that they stick fast in the scholarly consciousness, to become what scholars 'remember', especially about matters that are not essential parts of their own branch of a discipline. So I suspect it is still widely 'remembered' among classicists, and quite a section of archaeologists too, that there was a 'coming of the Greeks', in the form of a population movement in the earlier Bronze Age which brought ancestors of the Classical Greeks into the Aegean, and that this movement has archaeological support in the form of significant changes in material culture.

I originally gave a paper with this title to the Oxford Greek Archaeology Group in April 2012.[2] The paper was intended to be only 40 minutes long and for an audience unlikely to be familiar with the archaeological material, but it provided the basic inspiration for this version, for it helped to focus my mind once again on the immediately pre-Mycenaean period, the theory of a 'coming of the Greeks', and the problem of how the beginnings of Mycenaean civilisation took their distinctive form, although it

has been enlarged and changed considerably. Further reading, some of it associated with work on pre-Mycenaean and early Mycenaean burial customs,[3] and attendance at a 2013 conference in Groningen[4] have also contributed. At least some of the ground covered is likely to be tediously familiar, and I apologise for this, but not every potential reader will be familiar with the history of the 'coming of the Greeks' concept, and it seems worthwhile to recall this and the associated archaeological evidence in some detail.[5]

The title is surely best known from the seminal article by Haley and Blegen (1928), which set out a linguistic and archaeological argument for placing the 'coming of the Greeks' at the break between the Early and Middle Helladic periods of the mainland Bronze Age. But it occurs again as the primary title of the book by Drews (1988), with the significant expansion 'Indo-European Conquests in the Aegean and the Near East'; as the title of a section in chapter 2 of Hall's *Hellenicity* (2002); and as the final section in Pullen's account of the Early Helladic period, chapter 2 in *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age* (Shelmerdine 2008).[6] This last gives a clear account of the development of the concept up to the revision proposed by Caskey (1971), which was enshrined in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3rd edition, vol. I, part 2, chapter XXVI(a), and may now be considered to represent the standard version (cf. Hall 2002: 41). Pullen (2008) points out that further discoveries and much discussion following Caskey's revision have had little general impact, mentions some radical proposals for dating the appearance of the Greek language in Greece at or before the beginning of the Bronze Age, and ends with noting the development of new and more sophisticated hypotheses for explaining the spread of languages and the possibility of a much more rigorous approach to the problem. Hall also summarises these developments, with more detail on the linguistic arguments (2002: 40–4).

What really drove me to pick this as the topic for my original paper did not actually have 'the coming of the Greeks' in its title; it was an article by Bryan Feuer in *AJA* (2011) entitled 'Being Mycenaean, a view from the periphery', which provided clear evidence that the concept was not, as I thought, recognised as obsolescent, but could still be presented in a totally traditional form. It is embedded in the article: Feuer is quite unambiguous about presenting 'the coming of the Greeks' as a conquest of the southern Greek mainland by warlike Indo-Europeans who spoke the language ancestral to Greek (Feuer 2011: 516, 529), and probably came into Greece in a whole series of migrations, of unstated source, over the Early to Middle Bronze Age borderline (2011: 528). He presents these as the direct ancestors of 'the Mycenaeans', whom he identifies as a relatively large 'elite' group that dominated a much more numerous, apparently non-Mycenaean peasantry. This differs significantly from the concept as classically formulated, in which 'the Greeks' displaced or absorbed the preceding population (e.g. Wace 1957: xxiv), and was essentially that presented by Caskey, who described the newcomers as 'coming either from the north or the east or both', and settling peacefully in some parts of

Greece, but killing or absorbing the previous population in others (1973: 139–40).

In his brief summary of development through the Middle Helladic period (1973: 140) Caskey described the 'Middle Helladic folk' as largely consisting of farmers, 'conservative in outlook, doubtless truculent in defence of their property but not quick to seek new fields of activity or to develop their latent artistic sense'. This hardly reads like a description of a warlike population, and one might wonder why people of this kind took the adventurous step of leaving their own land to invade and conquer someone else's, let alone how they managed to do so; but in the days when population movements and invasions were commonly invoked to explain changes in material culture, such points were rarely addressed. Caskey went on to suggest that, after a 'period of gestation' lasting some three centuries, foreign impulses, largely Minoan, produced a rapid change in outlook, and 'Princes arose at Mycenae'. But he saw no compelling reason to think that these had come recently from abroad; rather, the mass of evidence suggested that this was a 'local flowering'. In this account, it seems worth noting, he was implicitly denying Wace's claim that over the Middle Helladic period Mycenae developed into a prosperous and powerful centre (1949: 21), and he was absolutely right to do so. Although there are traces of reasonably substantial settlement on and around the acropolis of Mycenae throughout Middle Helladic (Shelton 2010), overall the archaeological evidence does not suggest that it was a particularly remarkable place until, quite suddenly, it began to outstrip all potential local rivals in the Shaft Graves phase.

A view of 'the Mycenaeans' as an elite distinct from the bulk of the population is one to which Anthony himself has shown a certain inclination, but more in identifying many Mycenaean features, especially tomb types, as alien to an essentially Greek substratum on which they were effectively imposed, although at one point he does hint that the 'dominant classes of the new era' might not be of the same stock as their subjects (2000: 186, 385). Admittedly, this is not the same as effectively equating the dominant class with the early Greeks and seeing their subjects as something else that only slowly became Hellenised, as Feuer appears to do. Feuer's is in fact an unusual variant. Mostly those who want to identify the Mycenaean elite with the early Greeks, such as Drews, bring them in with the Shaft Graves and kindred phenomena in other parts of the mainland; but Feuer supposes a division between elite and subjects going back to the original conquest. He also lays stress on the warlike nature of this Mycenaean = early Greek elite (2011: 529), a very traditional characterisation of 'the Mycenaeans' generally (e.g. Vermeule 1964: 258; Taylour 1983: 135; Schofield 2007: 118).

I shall be discussing this characterisation in more detail below. Here I want to concentrate on the interrelated questions of why it is supposed that there was a 'coming of the Greeks', when it is supposed to have happened, and whether it took the form of the imposition of a new ruling class. A related question, whether the elite represented by the Shaft Graves

(which have tended always to be at the centre of the discussion) were actually non-Greek invaders, has now come to seem rather beside the point. The decipherment of Linear B as Greek has shown that the Mycenaean ruling class, in the most developed regions at least, used Greek as its language of administration. Thus, if the hypothetical conquerors did not bring Greek with them, they adopted it from their subjects relatively quickly. In any case, the arguments in favour of such foreign origins are based on few, often isolated and, in terms of the Shaft Graves sequence, late features (Dickinson 1999b: 105–6), whose identification as signs of an invading elite is highly questionable. What might be called the Indo-European hypothesis, which in fact relies on several of the same arguments, for example the appearance of chariots, has more substance, and will be returned to later.

The first question is, naturally, why there should need to have been a 'coming of the Greeks' at all. I have indicated many times over the years my deep scepticism about the historical value of the Greek legends, and have welcomed Hall's demonstrations (1997; 2002) that much of this supposedly traditional material was actually developed quite late, in the Classical period if not even later, because the ethnic identities and relationships which the legends served to validate were also developed late. But one feature sticks out: although there were many legends of groups moving around the territory considered to be Greek in Classical times, sometimes displacing older, apparently non-Greek populations such as Pelasgians and Leleges, and although various heroes were believed to have come from outside Greece, there were no stories suggesting that the Greeks as a whole entered the Aegean region, and specifically the Greek mainland, from anywhere else, let alone in a series of waves as was once believed.

Even the notorious 'Dorian invasion' was not presented in the traditions as originating outside Greece. Although Herodotus links the ethnic names Macednon and Macednian with the Dorians (I.56, VIII.43), he left this unexplained, never stating that the Dorians lived in any part of Macedonia at any time. He did describe them as living for a while in Pindus (I.61), presumably meaning the territory incorporating the mountain range and so potentially in Epirus, but this region cannot be considered as clearly separate from Greece. The Thessalians, as Herodotus indicates in a casual reference (VII.176.4), claimed to have come originally from Epirus, specifically the territory of the Thesprotians, who reputedly once controlled the famous oracle of Zeus at Dodona; this was under the control of another Epirot tribe, the Molossians, but widely consulted by northern Greek communities, in historical times. Together with the likelihood that the Epirots spoke a dialect classifiable as north-west Greek (Hall 1997: 155), this is an indication that the dividing line between Greek and non-Greek in the northern mainland was a complicated matter. That Thucydides regarded various Epirot peoples as *barbaroi* (II.80–1) may largely reflect a developing cultural prejudice of *polis*-dwelling Greeks against those whose lifestyle could be regarded as more primitive (Hall 2002: 195–6; Douzougli and Papadopoulos 2011: 7–8), an attitude also implicit in his dismissive

comments on the Eurytanes, an Aetolian people (III.94.5). For the purposes of this chapter all that matters is that Epirus was not really foreign to Greece in the same sense as Egypt, Phoenicia or Lydia, the stated sources of Danaus, Cadmus and Pelops respectively.

The assumption that 'the Mycenaeans' were Greeks and native to the territory of Greece thus came naturally to the first great interpreter of Mycenaean civilisation, Christos Tsountas. How, then, did the idea that the Greeks came from a source not even in the neighbourhood of Classical Greece become so popular with modern scholars, at a time when reverence for Greek tradition and belief in its historical content was much stronger than it is now? Surely this was mainly because of the popularity of the theory that the Indo-European languages were spread to their historical homes by a series of population movements out of an original Indo-European homeland, which could hardly be Greece or anywhere very near it (Hall 2002: 37–8). One noted early historian, Meyer, who accepted that there had been a migration, believed that it must have happened so long before historical times that the Greeks had forgotten it, and Beloch argued on linguistic grounds for an early date (Hall 2002: 39–40); interestingly, both suggested a date c. 2000 BC, the date that was later accepted for the 'coming of the Greeks' for a long time, if for different reasons.

But I think we cannot overlook the immense influence that Evans' views had. He steadfastly maintained, as in his presidential address to the Hellenic Society (Evans 1912), that the great centres of Mycenaean civilisation were founded by Minoan conquerors, and that the Greeks, whom he derived from the 'neolithic inhabitants of more central or northern European regions, whence *ex hypothesi* the invaders came' (1912: 278),[7] only began to dominate in the Aegean following the downfall of the Minoan-Mycenaean civilisation in the twelfth century BC. It was a considerable support to his arguments that the language(s) of the literate Minoan civilisation showed no sign of being Greek. Interestingly, though, he did allow that what were thought to be the oldest Greek tribes, like the Arcadians, had quite possibly already settled in parts of Greece, especially the Peloponnese, in which they could have been subjects of the Minoan conquerors (1912: 283). Even before the decipherment of Linear B, his theories on the essential identity of Minoan and Mycenaean civilisation had been rejected by many archaeologists, but he had uncovered a pre-Greek civilisation in Crete (of which there was no trace in Greek tradition, it may be noted, for Minos and his descendants are nowhere presented as other than Greek), and his views are likely to have left a residual effect.

Although Wace and Blegen were prepared to accept that Minoan influence played a major role in the development of Mycenaean civilisation, they insisted on its distinctness from Minoan, and Wace's excavations at Mycenae produced very different dates for its major monuments from those that Evans' interpretation required. Strongly opposed positions were adopted, in which the Haley and Blegen article of 1928 represents a major stage, placing the 'coming of the Greeks' well before Minoan civilisation reached its height. Haley plotted the distribution of what were thought to

be pre-Greek placenames in Greece, and Blegen noted that this fitted well with the distribution of Early Bronze Age cultures, as known at that time; the Anatolian links of many of the placenames, especially those ending in *-nthos* and *-ssos*, fitted the current belief that the Early Bronze Age was begun by the arrival of new peoples in the Aegean bringing metalworking technology from Anatolia (cf. Wace 1957: xxiii; Caskey 1971: 804–5). He then argued that the end of the mainland's Early Bronze Age, that is, of the Early Helladic period, was an appropriate time for a 'coming of the Greeks', since it was marked by considerable changes in material culture and not infrequently by fire-destructions at important sites, and there was no comparable break until the end of the Bronze Age.

This theory was of course given great strength by the decipherment of Linear B in 1952, which demonstrated that Greek was certainly being spoken in the Aegean by about 1400 BC. Wace, who had given Blegen's theory strong support, emphasised the continuity between Middle and Late Helladic (1957: xxiv), and used the decipherment to argue forcefully for such continuity between Bronze Age, Iron Age and Classical Greece that all could be considered phases in the history of one people (1957: xxxi–xxxv).[8] As noted above, Caskey made a significant adaptation of the theory, on the basis of his discoveries in the 1950s at Lerna, south of Argos, which led him to argue that the strongest cultural break in the north Peloponnese fell not at the end of Early Helladic but between Early Helladic II and III, and therefore that there must have been an earlier migration, presumed to have arrived in the Argolid by sea and preceding the group that introduced Middle Helladic culture (Caskey 1971: 785–6, 806–7; 1973: 139–40). At Lerna, not only was there evidence of a fire-destruction separating the phases, but many new material features appeared in Early Helladic III, which all had good Middle Helladic parallels. These included not merely new fine-quality wares, in which some pieces were apparently wheel-thrown, including undoubted precursors of Grey Minyan ware, one of the hallmarks of Middle Helladic, but a new cooking-pot ware, new house plans and rare examples of the custom of intramural burial, so common in Middle Helladic. He believed therefore that there had been an early migration, which affected the north Peloponnese, and a second migration affecting the mainland more generally, which was marked by the appearance of Matt-Painted pottery, the other ware traditionally considered typical of Middle Helladic. To many the idea of a second invasion seemed superfluous, but the basic point was accepted, and so the date of the 'coming of the Greeks' was moved back a couple of centuries or so and the theory remained essentially intact.

But the underpinnings of this apparently strong argument have been progressively knocked away (see Hall 2002: 43–4 for useful comments on the archaeological and linguistic arguments). It is not simply that the tendency to explain all examples of major cultural change by invoking a migration has fallen into disrepute and the related assumption that historically and socially defined 'peoples' should have distinct and archaeologically definable material cultures has lost credibility. Major changes

in our thinking have come about because of new discoveries and much closer study of the material, both archaeological and linguistic. Thus, the argument relating to Anatolian placenames has been effectively undercut by the discovery that the ancient Anatolian languages are either an early branch of the Indo-European group or very closely related to it, raising the possibility that such a language could have played a role in the formation of Greek and that any population movement bringing an Indo-European language to the Aegean could have been much earlier, as some scholars have recently argued (cf. Pullen 2008: 40).

The picture suggested by the archaeological evidence has also become considerably more complex since Caskey wrote, as was demonstrated in a major study by Forsén (1992). She showed that the Early Helladic fire-destructions identified in many parts of the southern mainland and interpreted by Caskey and others as the work of 'invaders' do not form a horizon datable within narrow limits, as might be expected in an invasion, and more significantly that examples of many of the features argued by Caskey to be new in Early Helladic III can be identified in Early Helladic II contexts. Thus, a very substantial apsidal-ended long hall found at Thebes is the best preserved of a growing number of examples of Early Helladic II date, mainly in central Greece, and single burials of adults that seem to be intramural and Early Helladic II in date can be found at several sites.

Indeed, a dispassionate view of the evidence for burial customs, aided by the great growth in information available for Early Helladic in particular (well covered in Weiberg 2007: chs. 6–9, but important new evidence has appeared since this was published), suggests that the custom of burying the dead, both adults and children, singly in forms of pit, sometimes intramurally, was a practice known on the mainland from Neolithic times (Dickinson, forthcoming). The evidence for this has tended to be overshadowed in the literature by the much more impressive evidence for cemeteries of multiple-burial tombs, that began before the end of the Neolithic and continued for much of the Early Helladic period; they are particularly common in central Greece but are now known in parts of the Peloponnese also. Weiberg has argued plausibly that these cemeteries had mostly been abandoned by the end of Early Helladic IIA (2007: 191–4), and after that the evidence from many parts of the mainland for how the dead were buried is much more sporadic, as indeed it is throughout Early Helladic in regions where such cemeteries are not found, such as the north-east Peloponnese. In the circumstances, it seems wise not to make over-emphatic statements about changes in burial customs, but rather to suggest that the practice of intramural burial simply became much commoner than before, for adults as well as children, during Middle Helladic. It is worth noting, however, that small extramural cemeteries, presumably for individual families or limited groups, might be established well before the end of the period, as at Asine (Voutsaki et al. 2011). Such fluctuations in the treatment of the dead over time surely have social explanations, and have nothing to do with any possible 'invaders'.

But perhaps the most striking changes have been in our knowledge of the pottery sequence, which has so often been treated as the principal basis for the differentiation of material culture, because it is so common and so often includes diagnostic shapes and distinctive wares. The relatively simple and clear-cut contrast between Early Helladic II and III that Caskey presented was already being complicated by the identification at Lefkandi in Euboea of a complex of wares and shapes that had clearly Anatolian links (French 1968, originally), whose chronological position relative to the Early Helladic II–III sequence was not totally clear but which was definitely earlier than Middle Helladic, and with which the introduction of the potter's wheel to the Aegean could be associated. Further discoveries and study have shown that this complex of wares and shapes spread through much of the Aegean at a time equivalent to Early Helladic IIB and occurs in varying quantities and combinations of forms at a series of island and central Greek sites (including Thebes), most often side by side with standard local Early Helladic or Cycladic wares. It has been plausibly argued that the characteristic fine wares of Early Helladic III may well derive from a blending of some of the types in this tradition with Early Helladic II shapes, and had been developed in central Greece first (Rutter 1979).

In fact, the Early Helladic III pottery sequences of sites as close together as Lerna, Tiryns and Kolonna on Aegina differ in significant respects, and there are similar variations between the sequences defined on different Cycladic islands. Out of this variety a degree of homogeneity did eventually emerge on the mainland, but it has to be said that the traditional description of Middle Helladic pottery, epitomised in Caskey's account (1973: 118–20), is quite simply out of date. This account concentrates on the Minyan and Matt-Painted wares, but most of what has been traditionally been presented as characteristic Matt-Painted is now known to be a product of the island of Aegina or a close imitation, and it can only very rarely be identified outside those parts of the eastern mainland easily accessible by sea, although unrelated local painted wares can be found. Similarly, good-quality Grey Minyan ware is typical of the central provinces of the mainland only, and it is now beginning to be apparent that it was by no means always produced by the full wheel-throwing technique, as used to be thought. Comparably fine ware is barely found elsewhere, although what may be called 'dark Minyan' occurs quite widely, and local potters in other regions clearly attempted to produce the less complicated shapes and give them a similar appearance to Minyan, with varying success. The most common and widespread features typical of Middle Helladic are in fact the cooking pots, 'long hall' house plans, and burial customs, and all it seems safe to say is that, by the mature Middle Helladic period, through processes we still do not really understand, these had spread throughout mainland Greece from Thessaly to the Peloponnese and to the nearest islands, giving an appearance of homogeneity.

When the supposed background and evidence for any possible migration are thus made so doubtful, it may seem superfluous to raise practical questions of the kind that seldom seem to be considered by proponents

of migration hypotheses, but I will mention a few (see further Dickinson 1999b). It is not simply a question of where the supposed migrants came from – which both Wace and Caskey acknowledged to be a problem – but why they were ready to move at all, when mobility for most people was much more restricted and a motivation for such wholesale population movement is much harder to identify. For almost all societies practised mixed agriculture from the Neolithic period, and farming populations will surely be reluctant to leave their lands, just as the farmers in the Attic countryside were at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. II.14.2, 16.2). If they were refugees from other lands, how would they have the strength to take over new lands and drive out or subjugate the existing population? Refugee populations would surely include few able-bodied adult males, since the majority of these would have died trying to defend their lands. Only if a population took flight before an enemy arrived, as the Goths apparently fled the Huns in AD 376, could the fighting manpower of a population, or a large proportion of it, be preserved – but there is no reason to believe that in prehistory any enemy could present such a terrifying appearance of ruthless and invincible savagery as to cause flight rather than resistance.

One suggestion that often used to be made, and is still sometimes advanced for periods where evidence for settlements is scarce, as not only in the late Early Bronze Age but in the last stages of the Bronze Age and early Iron Age (cf. Snodgrass 2000: 385), is that the incoming groups were originally specialised nomadic pastoralists, who could perhaps be imagined as infiltrating or simply taking over farming territories that had become thinly populated. But this raises a host of questions. Was such a specialised economy practised by any group in antiquity,[9] and was it practicable as the basis for a group's subsistence in southern Greece? Would it have left as few traces as its proponents often seem to suggest? And why, if such groups did exist and were able to maintain themselves in southern Greece, did they then make the switch to mixed farming, which was universal in Middle Helladic times, to judge from the evidence gathered from bone and plant remains and the nutritional indications from the study of human teeth? It hardly needs to be said that there is no plausible evidence for such groups in the much-better-documented Mycenaean period, even in its latest stages, or after it (cf. Dickinson 2006: 98–102).

One advantage of the nomad pastoralist hypothesis is that such peoples have generally been thought to be mobile and often warlike; indeed, there has been a long tradition of associating both warlike propensities and a nomadic pastoralist lifestyle with early Indo-Europeans. There could be no finer example of this than the story told to Theseus by his grandfather, that he had from his great-grandfather, in Mary Renault's *The King Must Die*, about how the 'Hellenes' came from what is clearly meant to be the northern steppe-land ('a sea of grass') into Greece. They are presented as cattle-herding nomads, whose chariot-riding aristocracy protected them while on the move, but Theseus' grandfather emphasises that it was the ability to ride horses that gave the newcomers the decisive advantage in

taking the land from the previous population (1958: 15–16), and although he is not made to say so it would also have allowed them to travel great distances relatively easily.

In sober archaeological fact, there is no reliable evidence for horse-riding in Greece before an advanced stage of the Mycenaean period (Kelder 2012), although horse bones have been found in domestic deposits, rarely, as early as the Middle Helladic period. Chariots have been found associated with burials of the Sintashta-Petrovka culture of the southern Urals, dating in the early second millennium BC (Piggott 1992: 54, 65; Huxley 1996; Makkay 2000: 57–8), but any attempt to associate these with Mycenaean chariots encounters a major difficulty at once: the wheels on the Mycenae representations are four-spoked, as is normal in Aegean representations and can be seen in early Egyptian and Near Eastern representations,[10] while the wheels found in the Sintashta graves are ten-spoked. Further, the whole association of the chariot with Indo-Europeans or Proto-Indo-Europeans, of which so much is made by Drews (1988: esp. ch. 5), has been questioned by others (see Piggott 1992: 51–2), and is to my mind fatally undermined by a new piece of evidence, a sealing surely made by a Cretan seal-ring, found at Akrotiri on Thera in a context equivalent to Late Minoan IA (Krzyszkowska 2005: 167–8, 190), so contemporary with the later Shaft Graves. This provides clear evidence that the chariot was at least known about in Crete, if not actually present there, by this time, and this can hardly have anything to do with the spread of putative Indo-European warrior groups, as Drews would have it.

Historical novelists are at liberty to develop their own explanations for supposed events like the 'coming of the Greeks', but they usually base these on their understanding of scholarly sources, so that in a sense we, the professionals, are responsible for what they write, as for what appears in all popularising works. One notable feature of Renault's account is that, in trying to present how something could have happened that, as I have commented above, has rarely been discussed by scholars in detail, she has imagined, as well as a mobile society, one led by a king and aristocracy. This too has been thought a primeval Indo-European feature, and it makes a connection with the development of the traditional concept that Feuer has produced by postulating that 'the Mycenaeans' formed an elite, descended from the original conquerors, and with other theories, like Drews', that see the newly emerged elites of the Shaft Grave phase as invaders, whether the original Greeks or foreigners who quickly became Hellenised (e.g. Indo-Aryan chariot-users, as in Huxley 1996 and Makkay 2000).

I hope that I have presented the major objections to all such theories in my answer to Huxley (Dickinson 1999b). To sum up, those who wish to attribute the Shaft Graves burials and their contemporaries to intrusive foreigners must explain not only how they achieved their dominance, but why they display not a single indication of being foreign in their graves, which are their most distinctive archaeological legacy. For their burial practices, grave-types and grave-goods, from the most elaborate precious

vessels and ornaments to the simplest pottery, either have perfectly good parallels in the Aegean, especially Crete for the most elaborate artefacts – and no one would now seriously suggest that they were Cretans – or, if novelties, are often unique to a single site, like the gold grave-masks of the Shaft Graves. Moreover, such novel features tend to appear at advanced stages of the development into Mycenaean, not, as one would expect if they were ethnic indicators, at the beginning. The refusal to accept this is one of the most irritating features of such theories; typically, they treat the evidence of the Shaft Graves as a single homogeneous block, which enables them to refer to some well-known features of the later phases as if they were typical from the beginning, and thus draw a contrast between the amazing wealth of the Shaft Graves and the poverty of preceding Middle Helladic graves. Indeed, Drews must do this, so that his supposed conquerors can arrive in chariots, for which the only evidence from the Shaft Graves should be dated in their latest and richest phase.

When only Grave Circle A was known, such an approach might seem reasonable; but now we have a sequence of burials in Grave Circle B covering some three or four generations, of which something like two are very likely to precede any burials in Circle A. Significantly, these early burials include some that are effectively indistinguishable from typical Middle Helladic burials, and some that seem to be a bit later and have more impressive grave-goods, but can still be paralleled in Middle Helladic burials at other sites, both in the Argolid (especially at Argos and Asine) and in other provinces, particularly Messenia, where a similar sequence of important burials showing a gradual increase in wealth of grave-goods can be identified. Thus, there is no reason to believe that the change from poverty to wealth was abrupt, and so could be argued to indicate that alien conquerors had suddenly arrived, bringing their wealth with them.

Comparable arguments can be levelled against the theories of Drews and others who wish to argue that the Shaft Graves and other rich burials of similar date are those of the first Greeks, again envisaged as a conquering elite. Drews in particular seriously understates the evidence for continuity between the previous Middle Helladic and the beginnings of Mycenaean culture. Wace and Blegen were absolutely right to insist on the essential continuity in material culture between Middle Helladic and Mycenaean, which is evident in most classes of pottery, many features of burial customs, and the limited evidence for house plans. As already pointed out, any innovations can usually be found ready parallels in the Aegean, especially Crete, and Crete is the most likely source for knowledge of the chariot at Mycenae, the earliest place on the mainland that shows any evidence of it. Here it is worth noting that, with the exception of what have been identified as bone cheek-pieces from horse bridles in Grave IV (Hiller 1991: 211), the Shaft Graves evidence for chariots is entirely pictorial, and could theoretically have been copied from imported representations or even from reports of chariots sighted outside the Argolid, which might account for some peculiar features.[11] Indeed, I am beginning to think it quite possible that the scenes in Shaft Grave art showing the

chariot's use in warfare and hunting no more reflect anything that really happened in the Argolid at that date than, in my view, do the scenes of combat with lions. Certainly, I believe that Drews' idea of chariot-driving warriors arriving suddenly by sea in fertile areas of the mainland and seizing control from terrorised farming populations (1988; esp. ch. 8, summarised 194–6) owes more to romance than reality.

Essential continuity from Middle Helladic to the time of Linear B strongly implies that the Middle Helladic population, or much of it, spoke something like Greek. But did this make them 'Greek' in any other sense, as Wace was so ready to argue? If so, they do not live up to his expectations of such an 'intelligent' people (1957: xxxii). I once believed in a 'coming of the Greeks' on the same grounds as Wace and Blegen, that is, the marked change in material culture, but by the time I wrote *The Aegean Bronze Age* I was ready to characterise the ideas implicit in the concept as outdated:

> But even if these [referring to new features in late Early Bronze Age pottery assemblages] do represent population movements it is an essentially unimportant question whether either reflects the 'coming of the Greeks'; for the whole notion implicit in this phrase, of the arrival of a new people with institutions and qualities that had a profound effect on the direction of development in the Aegean Bronze Age, is outdated. (1994: 298)

No new evidence has appeared to make me doubt that statement, and I note that Hall has expressed a very similar opinion (2002: 45). Much increased knowledge of the Middle Helladic period (Philippa-Touchais et al. 2010) has provided better evidence for internal and external contacts and even, by mature Middle Helladic times, a few signs of modest wealth in the eastern parts of the mainland, especially the Argolid. But overall Middle Helladic culture still looks distinctly unimpressive (Dickinson 2010: 20–1). In particular, I cannot see a trace of the 'warrior aristocracy' that Feuer wants to imagine. Weapons of any kind, daggers being the most common form found in the Aegean of this period, are in fact conspicuously rare in Middle Helladic contexts, in contrast with contemporary Crete. The advances in technology which resulted in the development of the Aegean long sword were made in Middle Bronze Age Crete and the Cyclades, not the mainland, and specialised 'warriors' are far more likely to have developed first in their societies (Molloy 2010: 424). Hence, the earliest 'warrior burial' so far found in what might be described as a Middle Helladic context is on the island of Aegina (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997), at the well-developed town of Kolonna, which resembles the Cycladic and Cretan towns rather than any mainland settlement.

Before the 1950s the apparent dullness of Middle Helladic culture, despite its being that of the first 'Greeks', was not, perhaps, so troublesome, since the preceding Early Helladic culture did not seem remarkable either. But Caskey's excavations at Lerna produced evidence that there were highly significant developments in the Early Helladic II period, epitomised in the building known as the House of the Tiles and the deposits of

sealings associated with it. The building and sealings may well have had important public purposes, and surely indicate growing social sophistication. Similar buildings, other substantial structures like fortifications, and deposits of sealings have been found at Early Helladic II sites over an area stretching from Boeotia to Laconia. But all this disappears at the end of Early Helladic II except on Aegina, and often a destruction level separates Early Helladic II from what follows, after which many important-seeming sites are deserted or dwindle. Attributing these destructions and disappearances to invading Greeks or proto-Greeks would thus characterise them as a wholly destructive force, who were unable to reproduce, let alone improve on, the achievements of their predecessors. However, there is no requirement to associate the destructions and the disappearance of the advanced Early Helladic II societies with 'invaders'; it seems more likely that internal stresses caused this collapse, maybe set off by a drought that affected much of the Near East.

The settlement of Kolonna on Aegina is currently the exception that proves the rule for Middle Helladic. It was a fortified town, with a major central building, and was very active overseas, clearly taking a considerable trading interest in the eastern mainland, to which it exported large quantities of Matt-Painted and other pottery, both fine and domestic wares. But having such contact with Kolonna and also likely direct contacts with the more advanced societies of Cycladic islands and Cythera, even Crete itself, had very little stimulating effect on mainland sites, as far as can be detected. 'As far as can be detected' are the operative words, of course; archaeology can hardly find evidence for the spread of ideas, beliefs and ideologies that are not expressed in some material way. But all the indications are that even the most substantial mainland settlements are best classified as villages. The arts and crafts that they supported were of a limited and functional kind; no structures could really be described as monumental; and the social system is likely to have been fairly simple, probably based on extended families and maybe larger clan-like groupings, but lacking any clear evidence for 'chiefs', let alone kings.

This situation endured without much detectable change for centuries. Only in the last stages of Middle Helladic, covering maybe a century or so, can real signs of change be detected, especially a considerable increase in evidence from various substantial settlements for contacts with and influence from the Aegean civilisations. Now, finally, we can identify clear traces of a developing elite or ruling class, who certainly included warriors, for they were buried in increasingly elaborate graves with efficient-looking weapons, mostly of Cretan types; other signs of prominence, such as ornaments of precious materials, were also buried in increasing profusion. The burial customs displayed in the Aegina grave referred to above are reflected at various sites in the Argolid, Messenia and elsewhere on the mainland, most notably Thebes and Thorikos. The process is gradual, as shown particularly well by the sequence of the Shaft Graves but also elsewhere, which is of course completely compatible with the slow emergence of a native elite.

What set off this process? To answer this, we have to recognise that there is some evidence for social distinctions in Middle Helladic society. Wright has collected evidence for what he has called faction leaders, Men of Renown or Big Men (2001; 2008: 238–9, 242–3), who might have gained distinction as hunters, traders on land or sea, fighting men, or simply leaders of families or clans. These Men of Renown might have larger and more complex houses and possess exotic items, and their graves might be special in size or contents, although most of the evidence for this comes from contexts that hardly date earlier than the earliest Shaft Graves. The evidence is patchy, and overlaps with the evidence for burial tumuli; but here I should emphasise that burial tumuli are still too sporadically distributed in space and time, and too varied in their contents, including the burials, to be cited unhesitatingly as evidence for Men of Renown, let alone 'chiefs' (see further Dickinson 2010: 23–4).

Wright has argued that these Men of Renown could have led factions that competed for prominence within villages and districts, and that this competition got out of hand at the time of, and probably directly connected with, the increasing Aegean interest in the mainland. I think there is a good case for suggesting that the burials in the Shaft Graves were the leaders of an unusually successful and long-lived faction, together with their more prominent subordinates, and that these may have set an example for ambitious individuals and groups in other provinces (Dickinson et al. 2012: 183–5). Although the graves of these early leaders vary in form from region to region, the symbols of status and authority that were buried with the dead have much in common all over the mainland. In the case of males these frequently included weapons, which might be decorated in some way, even extremely ornate, which suggests that a 'warrior persona' was considered appropriate for men of high status and consequently that warfare played a role in the rise to power of the new elites.

But this is far from saying that 'the Mycenaeans' were generally and characteristically warlike. They should not be envisaged as a kind of prehistoric Vikings, an essentially romantic idea that derives much of its support from the belief that they 'conquered' Crete, which is an interpretation of the evidence that is coming to seem more and more simplistic, and from the suggestion made, in the course of trying to provide a rational explanation for a historical Trojan War, that they were aggressively expansionist (as indeed Agamemnon was presented as being in that tedious 2004 film *Troy*). Behind all this, of course, lies the traditional identification of the Mycenaean elite with the heroes of the *Iliad*. As I have argued elsewhere, there is no reason to accept that the *Iliad* presents a realistic picture of Mycenaean or any other society, and as I shall be arguing in another paper,[12] there is no reason to consider the Mycenaean elite more warlike than the elites of the Near Eastern civilisations – which is not intended to suggest that they were pacific, any more than the Minoan civilisation was.

In the space of a few generations, society on the mainland became very obviously hierarchical, and its leaders accumulated considerable wealth, which they largely expended on monumental tombs and precious objects.

Their successors became more sophisticated, picking up developed forms of administration that involved the use of seals and writing from Minoan civilisation, and adopting or adapting various forms of Minoan symbolism; but they retained many characteristics which distinguish Mycenaean society from Minoan, and to judge from analysis of the Linear B tablets their society was much more clearly male-dominated than Minoan, even though their most important deity may well have been female, the figure referred to simply as Potnia, 'the Lady', on Linear B tablets.

Some cultural features became so common that they may be considered typically Mycenaean. I would cite the finely made pottery, the practice of multiple burial, especially in rock-cut chamber tombs, which became more and more common during the Late Helladic period, and the use of a range of small clay figurines for a variety of purposes, probably always related to ritual in some way, although these only became popular in Late Helladic III. In fact, there is a case for suggesting that the main features that might be considered distinctively Mycenaean were only fixed in Late Helladic III, which is also the period when other features discussed by Feuer as potential 'ethnic markers' (2011: 512–14), such as Cyclopean architecture and the 'megaron' palace plan, became current, if only gradually, a point that Feuer's discussion does not bring out. The pottery is the most universal, appearing at the smallest sites, and chamber tombs can be associated with quite unremarkable settlements; figurines are also very widely distributed. Most of the Greek islands and part of south-western Anatolia have produced Late Helladic III pottery and other artefacts that are indistinguishable from what is found on the mainland, and tombs and figurines of the same types as those current on the mainland, and although chamber tombs are quite rare other forms of multiple burial have been recognised. Only Crete continued to maintain a separate cultural identity in many significant respects, even its pottery. This growth of homogeneity over a wide stretch of the Aegean was surely not because of any large-scale migration of 'Mycenaeans', although mainland centres of power could have extended their control into the Aegean and this might have involved some movement of population. But surely it is more a reflection of the local populations' decision to assimilate themselves to what was now the dominant Aegean culture, as they had done earlier in the Late Bronze Age with Minoan culture. They became Mycenaean, in fact, although retaining some local traditions and features, which are in fact evident even on the mainland.

The rulers of the most advanced Aegean societies in this period had their administrative documents written in Greek, even in Crete, and presumably they and an increasing majority of their subjects, even outside the mainland, spoke some form of Greek. But were any of these people or their communities Greek in any other sense that historical Greeks would recognise? In several ways their rulers resemble more the monarchs of the Near Eastern civilisations, ruling from elaborate palace-like buildings, and even in the less organised parts of the Mycenaean world society seems hierarchical to a degree that Classical Greeks would surely have found alien. Did 'the Mycenaeans' even regard themselves as a single people, as

the Greeks clearly did by Archaic times, although even then there were difficulties of defining who was and was not Greek, as Hall has shown? Hall has argued against this in detail (2002: 47–55), and I agree.

Here the topic of religion might be introduced, for the historical Greeks clearly recognised religion and religious practice as one of the most important features that bound them all together, as suggested in the famous words that Herodotus placed in the mouths of the Athenians when responding to the Spartan appeal not to make separate peace with Mardonius: 'Then there is the Greek nation – of the same blood and the same language, with temples of the gods and sacrifices in common' (VIII.144.2). I think it fair to emphasise how different what we can deduce about Mycenaean religion is from what we know about historical Greek religion. Historical Greeks would surely find Mycenaean religion distinctly strange, especially if they compared it with what would be familiar to them from the Homeric epics as the practice of the age of heroes – which is, in fact, very similar to historical Greek religion. They would recognise only some of the deities who received worship, missing half of the Olympian Twelve, including on the evidence currently available such important figures as Apollo, Demeter, Aphrodite and (in my view) Athena, and they would surely be surprised at the rarity of the specific form of animal sacrifice combined with burnt offering that is so prominent in the Homeric epics and the public practice of historical Greek religion.

In my belief, historical Greek religion took a long time to develop, and so did the Greeks themselves. I believe that they spent a long time becoming what we recognise as Greek, although I fully accept Hall's criticisms of Myres' description of them as 'for ever in a process of becoming' (Hall 2002: 43–5), and I would say that the most important part of this 'becoming' took place after the Bronze Age. Even if many features were inherited from the Bronze Age, the social characteristics that we like to think of as typically Greek seem to have developed in the particular conditions created by the collapse of the Bronze Age civilisations. The Greeks' traditions, in the form that we have them, imagine their remote past with most of the familiar features of their own day, including the Delphic Oracle (hardly important before the eighth century); but in situating their development as a people within the geographical boundaries of Greece, they were closer to the mark than modern theories. Thus, there was no 'coming of the Greeks' in any meaningful sense, and when and how the Indo-European language that was to become Greek arrived in the Aegean remains a mystery that it may be impossible to answer satisfactorily.

Notes

1. I am grateful to John Bintliff for inviting me to contribute a chapter to this volume.
2. I am grateful to Mr. Jonah Rosenberg for inviting me to speak to the Group.
3. This was for the *Staging Death* project, initiated by Michael Boyd and Natasha Dakouri-Hild, to whom I am grateful for the invitation to participate in the project.

4. This was the international conference 'Explaining Change in Aegean Prehistory. Early Bronze Age III–Late Bronze Age I' at Groningen Institute of Archaeology, University of Groningen, 16–17 October 2013. I am grateful to Sofia Voutsaki and Corien Wiersma for the invitation to attend.
5. Because so much of this material is well known, I have not included a great number of references, mainly citing general studies.
6. It is also the title of two publications by J. T. Hooker, cited by Hall 2002: 42, fns. 55, 57–8, which are very largely concerned with linguistic questions, and inevitably cite interpretations of the archaeological evidence that are now patently outdated and unacceptable.
7. Presumably Evans was following Kossinna's claimed identification of the original Indo-European homeland (Hall 2002: 38).
8. As Hall notes (2002: 45), Blegen expressed more caution in the original article (Haley and Blegen 1928: 154).
9. There is a useful discussion of this topic, citing modern references, in Douzougli and Papodopoulos 2011: 9–12.
10. Drews 1988: 84, 85 fig. 4, 94 fig. 7, and Hiller 1999: pl. LXXI, 12b, show four-spoked examples. Later, they are six-spoked, as in Hiller 1999: pls. LXXII, 14b, 16b, and LXXIII, 17b.
11. On both the stelae and the Stag Hunt Ring there is no trace of the pole arrangement by which the horses were yoked to the chariot; had the artists not actually had an opportunity to observe this? Some showed the reins, at least. Younger 1997 illustrates all surviving complete and fragmentary decorated stelae from the Shaft Graves.
12. See now Dickinson 2014.

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2

Archaeology and the Archaeology of the Greek Language: On the Origin of the Greek Nouns in -εύς

Torsten Meissner

One of the most striking features of the ancient Greek lexicon is that numerous nouns in -εύς are attested both in personal names such as Ἀχιλλεύς or Ὀδυσσεύς and in common nouns like βασιλεύς 'king', ἱερεύς 'priest'; the latter type denotes, in historical times, mostly humans in professional or habitual roles, and the nouns in -εύς are thus commonly classed as agent nouns. Attested from, as we now know, the Mycenaean period onwards, the history and prehistory of the formations in -εύς have occupied scholars' minds ever since the inception of the systematic study of the history of the Greek language in the nineteenth century, and it can be said without exaggeration that the nouns in -εύς were and still are the *cause célèbre* of Greek word formation. This is due chiefly to the fact that while such nouns abound in Greek, cognates outside Greek are at best uncertain, and the origin of – from a Greek point of view – the nominal suffix -ευ- remains easily the most hotly contested topic in Greek word formation. In this chapter I shall attempt first of all to provide a very brief overview of the various positions, how they have been arrived at and what the problems are. The argumentation and criticism here will be kept short since a more detailed discussion of the problems will appear elsewhere. From there we shall proceed to examine the earliest – that is, Late Bronze Age – Greek evidence, which, taken in its archaeological context, can provide considerable arguments when it comes to assessing this problem.

1. The earliest attempts at explaining the suffix -ευ- are practically as old as the discipline of comparative Greek and Indo-European philology itself and are deeply steeped in the positive and constructive spirit of nineteenth-century German romanticism. These unfailingly attempt to find cognates in other Indo-European languages and therefore to project the existence of the suffix *tout court* back into the Indo-European parent language itself. An excellent overview of these early works is provided by Meyer (1877), yet his learned article ultimately shows above all just how tenuous these links are, and none of them can still be regarded as relevant to the discussion. Seeing the difficulty in finding exact cognates

for the suffix as such, Meyer himself suggested that the suffix should be segmented internally. He thus proposed to analyse it as *-*e*-*u̯o*-, that is, a combination of a thematic (o-stem) formation such as ἱερε- + suffix *-*u̯o*-. This was important as it subtly changed the approach. While early investigators sought to claim that the suffix as a whole was inherited, Meyer's segmentation permitted scholars to argue that the morphological material was inherited but left it open to claim that the suffix as it is attested is a Greek innovation. Meyer's work was influential for subsequent theories by Wackernagel (1879), Brugmann (1898) and others, all of which, again, did not stand the test of time.[1]

It was not until well into the twentieth century that the alternative theory, namely that the suffix was borrowed from another, albeit unspecified, language, was put forward. In his magisterial *Preisschrift* 'Die homerische Kunstsprache' of 1921, Karl Meister took a rather different approach, picking up a suggestion that Debrunner had made earlier.[2] Meister, like Debrunner, concentrated on the names of some of the key heroes in the Homeric epics – Ἀχιλλεύς, Νηλεύς, Ὀδυσσεύς, Οἰλεύς – and noted that these are quite simply not explicable from within Greek and are therefore in all likelihood *ungriechisch* (1921: 228). This was then taken up again by Debrunner in 1926. He first of all pointed to βασιλεύς 'king', βραβεύς 'judge, umpire' and ἑρμηνεύς 'interpreter, translator' as elements of the Greek vocabulary that are very clearly not inherited. As to the personal names, he noticed that the many phonological oscillations occurring in Greek but inexplicable from the point of view of historical Greek phonology, like Ἰδομενεύς–Ἰδαμενεύς, Ἀχιλεύς–Ἀχιλλεύς, Ὀδυσεύς–Ὀδυσσεύς–Ὀλυττεύς, to which we can add other epigraphically attested forms like Ὀλυτε̃ς, Ὀλυσεύς, Ὀλυσσεύς, Ὀλισεύς, Ὀλισσεύς[3] and of course Latin *Ulixes*, likewise do not sit well with the assumption that these are genuine Greek names. Thus, the conclusion for him was clear: the entire word-formation type was borrowed from a pre-Greek and indeed non-Indo-European language.

2. In spite of all the progress made during the twentieth century, the battle lines have been established ever since, and the very fact that the last century saw the publication of no fewer than four separate monographs on this topic,[4] exposing widely diverging views, as well as countless articles and book chapters, some of which are still very much relevant to the discussion, bears ample witness to the vigour with which the debate was, and still is, fought. In one corner one finds scholars who claim that the suffix is inherited from the parent language or formed at an early stage of Greek from inherited morphological material. This view is particularly prominent among Indo-Europeanists. In the other corner are those who, like Debrunner, flatly reject Indo-European heritage and would want to explain the entire type as borrowed. This viewpoint is more common among, though by no means restricted to, Greek philologists.

3. Neither assumption is without its problems. In order to justify Indo-European heritage of the formation, one would have to point to cognates in other languages. In fact, only two such putative cognates deserve

consideration. The most frequently cited one[5] is the connection with the nouns in *-*aus* in the Iranian languages, surfacing as *-auš* in Old Persian and Avestan; compare Old Persian *dahạyāuš* 'land', Old Avestan *hiθāuš* 'companion'. Iranian *-*āus* could (though need not) go back to an earlier *-*ēus* which clearly underlies the Greek formations. These nouns form a subclass of the u-stem nouns in Iranian, the more common nominative ending in *-uš* which is, of course, directly comparable to the Greek nouns in -υς, such as πῆχυς = Avestan *bāzuš* 'forearm', both going back to Proto-Indo-European (PIE) *$b^{h}eh_{2}ĝ^{h}us$. In fact, this connection stands little chance of being correct. For a start, there is not a single word equation between Greek nouns in -εύς and Iranian formations in *-auš*, while the regular u-stem nom. sg. in *-*us* is very well attested, as in the example just given. Secondly, the inflection seems to oscillate somewhat within Iranian: Old Persian *dahạyauš* 'land' shows, alongside the expected acc. *dahạyāvam*, an alternative form in *visa-dahạyum* 'holding all lands'. Likewise, alongside *bāzuš*, *-bāzauš* also occurs, but only as the second element of a compound. Given that compounds of non-o-stem nouns typically inflect with a change in the ablaut pattern (compare Greek πατήρ 'father': εὐ-πάτωρ 'having a good father'), this may also be the case here. This is clearly not the place to reason why Avestan displays this type of ablaut alternation,[6] but in my view this type of compound declension is much more likely to have arisen secondarily and cannot be projected back to PIE times. But even if it were, it would shed no light on Greek, as the Greek nouns in -εύς usually are *not* compounds, and Iranian cannot illuminate them. Thirdly, this type is restricted to Iranian, with no trace or cognate to be seen in the closely related Indian languages, save the isolated i-stem noun *sakhāy-* 'friend, companion', in Sanskrit. It must be doubtful whether this type existed even in Proto-Indo-Iranian, let alone Proto-Indo-European. Fourthly, even if the declensional type in *-auš* started life in simple nouns, the long vowel in Avestan is much more likely to result, ultimately, from *-*o-* than from *-*ē-*. Finally, the Greek nouns in -εύς are in essence agent nouns or personal names, while the Avestan forms are restricted to the appellative vocabulary and have no definable semantic characteristics. It is clear that the nouns in *-auš* are an inner-Iranian problem, and that Greek nouns like βασιλεύς have nothing to do with them.[7]

The other putative cognate of Greek -εύς has been seen in the Phrygian *-av-*[8] that is attested in what is commonly thought to be papponyms in *-avos* (*proitavos*, *akenanogavọs*), which have been analysed as gen. sg.[9] or as adjectival nom. sg.[10] of Phrygian stems in *-āv-* < *-*ēu̯-*. The Phrygian forms are very doubtful, to say the least, but even if genuine they do not show that the suffix or even the morphological material involved in its formation is inherited. It is entirely possible that these two languages, which are in very close geographical proximity, have borrowed the suffix from a third language (note that in Phrygian this suffix is attested, at least to date, only in personal names which need not be of Phrygian origin themselves), or indeed that one (more likely to be Phrygian) borrowed it directly from

the other (i.e. Greek). Furthermore, the very fact that in Phrygian these forms are, so far at least, only attested in personal names does not mean that the suffix had become a part of Phrygian derivational morphology.

The more subtle explanation that the suffix was created within Greek (or perhaps Graeco-Phrygian) but from inherited morphological material, originally put forward by Meyer as we have seen, was argued for in more recent times in an influential article by Schindler (1976), who regards ἱππεύς as showing the stem ἱππε- + a suffix *-*eu̯*-/-*u*-, which, as such, is well known in the Indo-European languages. Yet Schindler's suggestion is strongly to be rejected. For one thing, as Leukart has shown, the Mycenaean evidence does not suggest that the derivation originally occurred only from o-stem nouns like ἵππος.[11] Hajnal also points out, entirely correctly in my view, that (a) it must be doubtful whether ἵππος still had an ablauting stem form ἱππε- in Greek, and (b) Schindler does not give a semantic or morphological justification for this synthetic formation. To these points we may add that Schindler's assumption of the thematic vowel being followed by an ablauting suffix in a nominal formation is also highly problematic. A somewhat different path was followed by Santiago Alvarez (1987: 119ff.) and de Vaan (2009), both of whom want to derive the nouns in -εύς from original locatives in *-*ēu̯*- of u-stem nouns. Again, this is beset with difficulties, not least because such locative forms are not attested in either Mycenaean or historical Greek with any certainty.

In sum, then, none of the attempts at linking the Greek suffix -ευ- with anything in the Indo-European parent language can be said to stand any likelihood of being correct.

4. While the difficulty with claiming PIE heritage for the suffix is thus clearly one of lack of evidence, the alternative theory that the suffix is borrowed from another language of the Aegean or eastern Mediterranean area is no less problematic. Given that the source language for such a putative borrowing is unknown, the methodological difficulty is evident: it could be said to be nothing other than a cheap escape route to rid one of the problem. In fact, the situation is not quite as bad as that: for, as we have seen, some of the common nouns like βασιλεύς do not appear to have a Greek etymology, and the same is true for many of the personal names (see above).

5. The decipherment of Linear B has provided a watershed in our understanding of the history of the Greek language; nouns in -εύς (written -e-u) like i-je-re-u = later Greek ἱερεύς 'priest' or ka-ke-u = χαλκεύς 'bronze smith' are attested in larger numbers, as are personal names like a-ki-re-u = Ἀχιλλεύς. Thus, the Mycenaean Greek texts not only provide the earliest evidence for these nouns, unknown to early scholars working on the topic; they must also provide the starting point for any investigation in the prehistory of the formation in question. Obvious though this point might appear to be, many modern attempts at an explanation do not pay attention to this. This is true in particular for Schindler (1976), whose approach was rightly criticised by Leukart for this reason, too,[12] but the same criticism needs to be levelled at de Vaan (2009). For this reason, the first step

needs to be a thorough examination and classification of the Mycenaean evidence. This was provided in an exemplary fashion by Leukart (1994: 240ff.). The usages of the suffix -e-u in Mycenaean can on this basis be classified as follows:

(a) Nouns indicating male professions or functions like ka-ke-u = χαλκεύς 'bronze smith', i-je-re-u ἱερεύς 'priest', pl. ko-to-ne-we 'owners/holders of a plot of land', derived from ko-to-(i)-na = Rhod. κτοίνα; these nouns are identified by Leukart as the *Ursprungsgruppe*; these are agent nouns properly speaking. In addition there are a very few names of vessels like *a_3-ke-u* /aigeus/, lit. 'goat-er', which can be regarded as metaphorical extensions (see below under (c) for even more striking examples).

(b) Numerous personal names of various origins, such as po-ro-u-te-u /Plouteus/ from πλοῦτος 'wealth', e-re-e-u /Heleheus/ 'Fenman' < ἕλος 'marsh', pi-ke-re-u /Pikreus/ < πικρός 'sharp'. A noteworthy subgroup is constituted by names like a-re-ke-se-u /Alekseus/, no-e-u /Noheus/, which are in all likelihood short forms of compound names like Ἀλέξανδρος (cf. Myc. fem. a-re-ka-sa-da-ra), wi-pi-no-o /Wip^{h}inohos/, with the first and second member of the compound respectively forming the lexical basis for the derivative in -e-u. As already noted, we find many non-Greek names here, like a-ki-re-u = Ἀχιλλεύς, si-mi-te-u = Σμινθεύς, which in alphabetic Greek is an epithet of Apollo; cf. *Iliad* I.39.

(c) Extended compounds, like nom. pl. o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we /opiteuk^{h}ehēwes/ 'overseers of τὰ τεύχη', a-pi-po-re-u /amp^{h}ip^{h}oreus/ 'amphora'. This is very clearly a secondary function of the suffix, shown particularly well by ke-ni-qe-te-we /k^{h}ernik^{w}tēwes/ 'hand-wash basins' (contrast the root noun preserved as second member of ke-ni-qa /k^{h}er-nik^{w}s/ 'hand-wash basin' ≈ Hom. χέρνιβα 'hand-wash water'), whose -t- shows that it is derived from an instrument noun *k^{h}ernik^{w}tron *vel sim*. Importantly, we do not just find agent nouns in the strict sense of the word here but also, by metaphorical extension, instrument nouns.[13] Leukart is also probably right in assuming that the suffix -e-u is used here to indicate the nominalisation of what would otherwise be adjectival formations *opiteuk^{h}ēs and *amp^{h}ip^{h}oros.

(d) Placenames; this is a rare use, with a-ke-re-u-te 'from a-ke-re-u' being one of the best examples. It is equally rare in alphabetic Greek, but compare Φελλεύς (a part of Attica) < φελλός 'cork oak', δονακεύς 'thicket of reeds' < δόναξ 'reed', *hapax* at *Iliad* XVIII.576. In this context I should like to offer another observation: it is noteworthy that the majority of words in -e-u regarded as placenames in Mycenaean are pl.; this contrasts sharply with the historical Greek situation.[14] It seems likely, therefore, that the formation in -e-u originally denoted the inhabitants and that this could then be used as a placename in its own right (cf. *apud Oxonienses* = in Oxford). This would suggest that the toponymic use of the suffix is secondary.

6. It emerges from this brief overview that only (a) and (b) can be regarded as reflecting the original state of affairs. The names in (b) are of a mixed nature. While some are patently derived from Greek words, others are entirely unclear, and for practical reasons we need to leave them out of our considerations. However, one point needs to be made here: the formal connection between agent nouns and personal names – that is, the fact that they seem to be formed in an identical way – is in all likelihood not accidental. For ka-ke-u 'bronze smith' is also attested as a personal name in PY Jn 750.8,[15] and indeed it is not unlikely that among the unclear personal names in -e-u there might be a good number of original nouns indicating professions.

7. While this must remain speculative for the moment, it is evident that only the nouns under (a) can serve as a basis for further investigation. The crucial question is whether we can arrive at a relative chronology of these formations, that is, whether we can distinguish older from more recent agent nouns in -εύς. Although this seems difficult from a linguistic point of view, evidence from another source may be useful here. I owe to John Bennet (personal communication) the important observation that a number of the agent nouns referring to the 'old' industries – that is, those for which the archaeological evidence is older than the Mycenaean-era linguistic evidence by a thousand years or more – are formed with -εύς: ka-ke-u = χαλκεύς 'bronze smith', ke-ra-me-u = κεραμεύς 'potter', ka-na-pe-u = κναφεύς 'fuller'. By way of contrast, the terms referring to the younger, 'palace' industries are regularly formed as genuinely Greek compounds in -wo-ko = -ϝοργός such as nom. pl. a-pu-ko-wo-ko /ampuk-worgoi/ 'head-band makers', ku-ru-so-wo-ko /k^{h}ruso-worgoi/ 'goldsmiths', to-ro-no-wo-ko /t^{h}rono-worgoi/ 'chair makers'. But we can go even further than this. For it is instructive to look at the base words for these nouns in -εύς: χαλκός 'bronze', κέραμος 'clay', κνάφος 'teasel, carding comb'. None of these has a convincing Indo-European etymology; their phonological structure does not look Indo-European, and the fact that κνάφος has, albeit only from Classical Attic onward, alternative forms in γν- like γνάψις 'fulling' (Pl.) or γνάφαλλον = κνέφαλλον 'flock of wool' can be taken as positive evidence that we are not dealing with an inherited word here.[16] In other words, those agent nouns that refer to industries clearly, and indeed substantially, older than the likely date of the migration of the 'Greeks' (but see Dickinson, this volume *contra* such a migration), look thoroughly non-Indo-European. To these we may add the word qa-si-re-u, represented as βασιλεύς in later Greek and here denoting 'king' while in Mycenaean the word is the title of a minor official,[17] which has no derivational basis in Greek at all and which can hardly be anything other than a loanword. In its phonological structure (triconsonantal root, remarkable a-vocalism) it is parallel to the 'industrial terms' just mentioned. By way of contrast, while the lexical root of the compounds in -wo-ko may be inherited (as in ko-wi-ro-wo-ko = κοιλουργός 'maker of hollow ware', *PSAAthen*. 1.1, third century BC) or borrowed (as is clearly the case with ku-ru-so-wo-ko, with χρυσός 'gold' being a loan from Semitic),[18] the words as a whole are clearly formed within a Greek linguistic context.

In a few instances, though not in terms referring to industrial production, a compound formation is attested alongside a noun in -e-u in Mycenaean: i-je-re-u 'priest' (frequent) alongside i-je-ro-wo-ko (twice); and alongside the common ko-to-no-o-ko /koino-hok^{h}os/ 'land-holders', ko-to-ne-we / ktoinēwes/ and ko-to-ne-ta /ktoinetās/ are each attested once. ko-to-ne-ta on PY Ed 901 (hand 1) is likely to be the same, semantically speaking, as ko-to-no-o-ko on, for instance, PY Eb 566 (hand 41), given the comparable structure of these tablets; this cannot be shown to be the case, though is still likely, for ko-to-ne-we, which is written by a different scribe (hand 91) and occurs on a personnel record (PY Ae 995) rather than a land-holding tablet. In the case of i-je-re-u versus i-je-ro-wo-ko, Boßhardt argued on the basis of the Homeric evidence, and before the decipherment of Linear B, that ἱερὰ ῥέζειν is likely to be older than ἱερεύειν 'to sacrifice';[19] given that ῥέζειν is from the same root **u̯erǵ-* as -wo-ko -ϝοργός, we may regard i-je-ro-wo-ko as the primary formation, while i-je-re-u and ko-to-ne-we can be regarded as due to the high productivity of this suffix in Mycenaean Greek, and as similar to the patently secondary formations like o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we identified by Leukart (see the list above under (c)).

In conclusion, then, Greek is likely to have borrowed the suffix -ευ- together with the industries of the oldest terms that this suffix indicates. Where, when and from what language this borrowing occurred must remain uncertain; but at the moment it looks entirely possible that the Greek speakers learnt these techniques within Greece, and that the technologically advanced Minoans had an important role to play here – but this is a story for another day.

Notes

1. See Boßhardt 1942: 1ff. for a critical appreciation of the various theories of that time.
2. Debrunner 1916: 741f.
3. See Kretschmer 1894: 146f. for the forms attested on Greek vase inscriptions, and further von Kamptz 1982: 355f.
4. Ehrlich 1901; Boßhardt 1942; Perpillou 1973; Santiago Alvarez 1987.
5. See e.g. Kuiper 1942: 37ff.; Leroy 1951: 232; Beekes 1985: 85ff.; Adrados 1996: 56.
6. See Cantera 2007 for a very balanced discussion, and further de Vaan 2000 for the problems regarding the phonological interpretation of the sequence *-āum* in Avestan.
7. It has been argued (Kuiper 1942: 37, 47ff., and more recently Hajnal 2005: 202) that Greek νέκῡς 'dead body' with its long suffix vowel is a replacement for an older *νεκευς (< PIE **nek̑ēu̯s*) and that this is to be compared to Avestan acc. *nasāum* 'dead body'. However, it seems clear that the υ in Greek was originally short, see *EDG* II 1004 s.v. νεκρός; the lengthening probably started life in the acc. pl. νέκῡς < *νέκυνς (in Homer attested alongside the more recent form νέκυας) and spread from there throughout the paradigm. Furthermore, from a semantic point of view there is nothing that would link **nek̑ēu̯s* with the Greek nouns in -εύς.
8. For this point of view see most recently Hajnal 2005: 200.

9. Thus Hajnal 2005: 200.
10. Thus Lubotsky 1988: 12.
11. Leukart 1983: 234, n. 1. See further Hajnal 2005: 199, who provides a well-argued and concise criticism of Schindler's suggestion.
12. Leukart 1983: 234, n. 1.
13. Cf. as a parallel the use of the suffix *-er* in English. Borrowed from Latin *-arius*, e.g. *molinarius* > Engl. *miller*, it is nowadays used not just for professions (*teacher*, *driver*) but also for instruments like *cooker*, *printer*.
14. Cf. the list provided by Bartoněk 2003: 289f.
15. See *Dic.Mic.* I 307 f. for a discussion and further references.
16. See *EDG* I 721f. for further discussion.
17. See *Dic.Mic.* II 189.
18. See *EDG* II 1652.
19. Boßhardt 1942: 31f.

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3

Survey, Excavation and the Appearance of the Early *Polis*: A Reappraisal

Vladimir Stissi

When writing a contribution to a *Festschrift*, the first thing to think of is of course a theme that relates to the honorand and her or his research. In the case of Anthony Snodgrass that is a surprisingly difficult task, because there are so many possibilities to choose from. As we all know, Anthony has produced seminal contributions to thinking about field survey, the Elgin marbles, Early Iron Age Greece, pottery styles, city planning, Archaic Greece, the origins of the *polis*, the (re-)birth of figurative art, demography, economy and many more subjects. To make things still harder for the *Festschrift*-writer, there is often not much to add to his interpretations and conclusions. It is therefore only with some hesitation that I here want to bring together and explore a set of Anthony's favourite hobby horses: the material side of the early development of the Greek city-state, as it can be seen from excavations of domestic sites and through field survey.

This is not an accidental choice: I came upon the subject when preparing my contribution to the publication of the results of the survey of the Boeotian city of Thespiae, on the pottery finds from the Early Iron Age to the Hellenistic period. As often in Greek surveys, the early historic period is not well represented among the finds, with a total of around 200 sherds. However, the thin spread of these Early Iron Age to Archaic sherds over the whole site (Fig. 3.1) is actually not a bad score compared with many other projects (Stissi 2011: 149–50). But what does it represent? It is quite conceivable that the continuing habitation of the city has reduced the amount of early material in the top layers. Nevertheless a city of the density and size of Classical and Hellenistic Thespiae seems unlikely for the period before that. Yet apparently there was some human activity over a large area of Thespiae from the eighth to the sixth centuries BC. How should we envisage that?

Turning to the literature on early Greek *polis* centres, a possible solution is offered by the 'village city', a model of town planning suggesting that many Greek cities were formed out of conglomerates of loose hamlets and villages which slowly grew together over the seventh and sixth

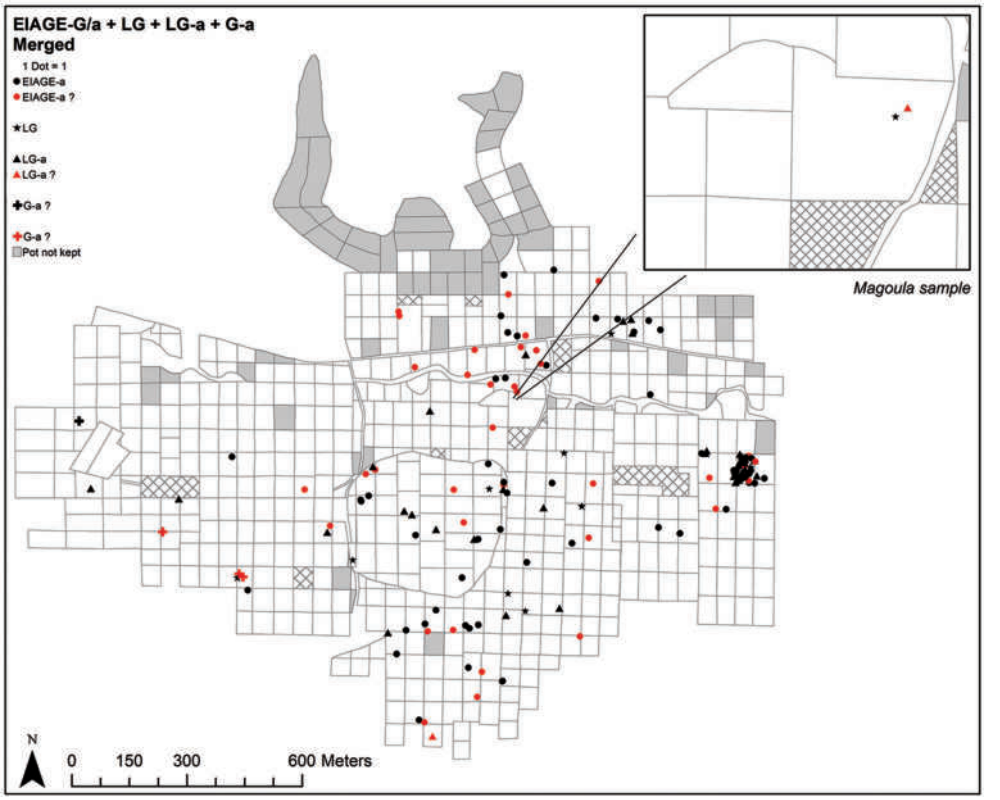

Figure 3.1 *The Early Iron Age and Archaic finds of the Thespiae city survey. Map: Emeri Farinetti.*

centuries. Paradoxically, the exemplary case often cited for this model is Sparta as characterised by Thucydides, a *polis* centre where the villages never grew together (Snodgrass 1980: 156; Kolb 1984: 67, 77; Crielaard 2009: 361, 365; Bintliff 2012: 221, 240). I was, and still am, not quite sure whether such a model fits the Thespiae find patterns, which do not seem to include clear concentrations of material, or large empty spaces, or other characteristics suggesting separate villages or even just uneven intensity of use/habitation.

What I did realise, however, when looking at these problems, is that the archaeological foundations of any of the current models of the development of Greek towns are surprisingly weak and outdated - not so much because we have so few data, but because the existing and quickly expanding dataset is hardly taken into account. In fact, not least through Anthony's contribution (Snodgrass 1980: 29–33, 154–8; 1987–9; 1991), the last decades have produced a growing scholarly interest in the ways the developments of the Greek *polis* are reflected by the material and spatial appearance of towns, buildings and agrarian landscapes.[1] Field survey has literally produced new maps of towns and the countryside. Together with

excavation results these show us how houses, sanctuaries, public buildings and fortifications were combined in various ways, not only in towns, but also in the countryside. Not only overall structures, but also the functional and spatial organisation of single houses and communal buildings, can be linked to features of social stratification and political organisation. As a relative outsider to the subject, however, I find it remarkable that the same few examples and rather basic models reappear over and over again, even though some are based on very limited evidence from fieldwork, and there is quite a lot of new material available.

Moreover, some of my own fieldwork, in a *polis* (Halos) which managed without a clear urban centre for a long time, in an area where *poleis* are supposed to be the exception anyway, suggests that reality may be a bit more complex then we like to think. Could supposedly well-known areas and places like Boeotia or Athens also hide surprises? Through a fresh look at both old and new evidence, I hope to explore some new (im)possibilities in interpreting the appearance of the early *polis*, spatially and also socially.

A neat story?

At first sight this may not seem a subject to which one can add much. General developments have been covered lucidly in *Archaic Greece* and several of Anthony's articles (Snodgrass 1980: 29–33, 154–8; 1987–9; 1991), while more specific subjects, especially regarding the organisation of the house in the context of *polis* society, and the roles of sanctuaries in the forming of communities, have been covered by a series of recent books and articles, some by Anthony's students.[2] The basic story, as it can also be found in several handbooks,[3] is remarkably straightforward: after a Dark Age marking the transition from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age, for which we mainly have a few hamlets and refugee sites, more substantial settlement starts again in the ninth and eighth centuries. While the first of these towns emerging in the Dark Ages are usually small, crowded villages with densely clustered houses on or just below readily defensible hilltops, some major later *polis* centres seem to have grown from much larger and less intensively inhabited places with detached houses or small clusters of houses, which may have contained family clans. Larger towns, particularly later *polis* centres like Athens, Corinth or Argos, seem to have been polycentric, in the sense that they appear to consist of separate hamlets, with funerary enclosures and open spaces between them. In between the houses, and sometimes on prominent hilltops, the first sanctuaries appear. Only a few of these larger towns seem to have been fully walled for defence before the Archaic period, but several were situated close to contained defensible hilltops which seem to have been used as refugee sites and were sometimes fortified. Leaving aside some temples on prominent spots, non-domestic buildings and spaces started appearing quite haphazardly in the seventh century, but soon became focal points of *polis* society. In the meantime houses grew larger, partly in order to contain more differentiated spaces. While all this happened slowly and without much spatial planning in the

core of the Greek world, many of the colonies seem to have all the *polis* features, or at least open space for them, built in from the start, often integrated into large and well-planned urban areas. Only towards the very end of the Archaic period did 'Hippodamian' urban planning reach the Aegean, allowing the spatial fulfilment of ideal *polis* societies.

Remarkably, the lower levels of town planning, particularly that of the individual house and household, are largely missing in this handbook story. A series of recent articles have explored the connections between domestic layouts and developments in social structure of the nascent *polis*,[4] but as far as I can see the scale directly above this, the level connecting house and town, remains mostly unexplored beyond some practical basic issues. Thus, while we can see the origin and development of the regularly shaped urban block in some colonies,[5] studies on the build-up and functioning of orthogonal cities are largely limited to the Classical period.[6] This is a pity since, in order to understand not only the functioning of towns in both a practical and social sense, but also the ways a town was conceptualised and perceived, we should look not only at houses and the urban fabric as a whole, but also at the ways houses and households interact spatially, that is, how settlements are structured. This, in turn, may also be connected to the structure of settlement patterns in the *polis* as a whole – an issue which has received somewhat more attention in recent years, partly as a result of the surge in field survey projects.[7]

Admittedly, a major problem in attempting such an integrated approach to social space from the house to the *polis* (or any other institutionalised larger geographical unit) is that the amount of available evidence is still quite limited. While we do have a substantial number of Early Iron Age houses and other buildings, there are only a few places where we have more than a glimpse of how these were placed together and interacted within a settlement as a whole and the wider surroundings.[8] We know even less of the further organisation and settlement of territories, partly because surveys are producing hardly any finds from the period, and only very little for the seventh and much of the sixth centuries. On the other hand, however, any closer look at the archaeological foundations of the currently prevailing narrative immediately shows they are very shaky too. Some of the sites often cited to illustrate this story, moreover, seem rather problematic as representative examples. As can perhaps be expected, it seems that even the limited reality we do have is much more complex than a neat handbook story. This makes an exploration of what we can see still worthwhile, in my view.

Data we do have: excavation evidence

It is easiest to start my story from what is surely the best-documented category of Early Iron Age and Early Archaic settlement in the non-colonial Greek world: the small, concentrated, hilltop settlement. Indeed, the type site of this category, Zagora on Andros, is the only site in the traditional narrative of the development of the Greek town which is documented by a

well-published excavation that has covered a substantial proportion of the site.[9] Its rather short life span and difficult accessibility make it a somewhat unusual example of its kind, however. While there might be a few sites with a somewhat similar layout (Minoa, perhaps Vathys Limenaris on Donousa and Kastro on Siphnos) (Fägerstrom 1988: 69–72, 80–2, respectively), or history (Vroulia; Kinch 1914) in the Aegean, other sites with a similar dense cluster of rectangular domestic spaces, like Lefkandi (Popham et al. 1980; Fägerstrom 1988: 57–60), Mitrou (Van de Moortel and Zachou 2012), Miletos (Kalabaktepe) (Senff 2000; see Lang 1996: 198–217), Koukounaries on Paros (Lang 1996: 182–4; Fägerstrom 1988: 75–9) and possibly Colonna on Aegina (Lang 1996: 163–4) and Asine (Frodin and Persson 1938; Wells 1983; Fägerstrom 1988: 21–8) are more directly connected to the sea, and often seem to have Bronze Age and Dark Age predecessors.[10] Rather than expressions of a new epoch, these towns are survivors of the past, or even places that flourish after the fall of the palaces, albeit on a relatively small scale. Moreover they all seem to belong to an Aegean world which only partly keeps on thriving into the sixth century.

Unfortunately, none of these excavations are as yet fully published. It is tempting to connect the better-published site of (Old) Smyrna to this series, despite its relative late foundation, since it looks like a rather densely inhabited town, very near the sea.[11] However, the enormous, heavy wall surrounding the town has no direct parallels further west in the Aegean, and when one zooms in, the habitation structure is also different – as far as we can see: a major problem of the many available interpretations of Old Smyrna, including the fancy reconstruction by Nicholls that can be found in almost every handbook, is that the factual basis is very limited indeed. Only a small portion of the town was excavated, and this yielded a single free-standing (possibly) Protogeometric oval house, covered by a problematic sequence of a cluster of rooms and open spaces (apparently interrupted by a phase with oval houses), which even its excavator, Ekrem Akurgal, did not manage to interpret consistently (see Lang 1996: 241–3). One of his partly contradictory conclusions, that the cluster formed a single large house for some time, would lead to an urban organisation and a social structure very much unlike that of the other Aegean sites. Indeed, a small, heavily fortified city containing a small number of large domestic clusters would look more like Late Bronze Age Troy (and perhaps Miletos?). Yet this cluster structure in Smyrna is apparently preceded and interrupted by freestanding, small, oval houses, which look completely different. All in all, Smyrna seems no less atypical than Zagora. We should wait for the upcoming publications of some of the other sites in this category before exploring it any further.

Towns composed of villages?

Perhaps surprisingly, archaeological evidence for towns consisting of clusters of villages is even more limited than that for smaller concentrated places. Let me start with Athens, with Corinth as one of the traditional type

sites of this category. Even though his alternative vision may be open to discussion, in my view John Papadopoulos has by now convincingly shown that there is hardly any evidence for a spread of concentrated habitation beyond the direct surroundings of the Akropolis in the Early Iron Age and the Early Archaic period, and that we simply do not know anything about the urban fabric and habitation density of the city in this period (and for some decades beyond).[12] Following this line of reasoning, the graves, cemetery plots and pottery workshop remains found in the area of the later Agora and the Kerameikos may well belong to the extra-urban part of the dense and concentrated city centring on the Akropolis envisaged by Papadopoulos. It must be said, however, that this town is just as invisible archaeologically as the supposed clusters of villages: as far as we have traces, they regard public buildings, disconnected from any spatial context.

At Corinth, the situation is not very different. Beyond some small and disturbed bits of domestic architecture, almost all our excavated evidence consists of graves (Dickey 1992; Lang 1996: 165–72). The positions of many of these graves would be compatible both with concentrated habitation in a relatively small area and with loose clusters of houses. The early seventh-century city wall which seems to have enclosed the later urban area already is not very conclusive either, because we simply have found very few relevant remains of the city it enclosed (Williams 1983). Just as in Athens, the potters' quarter on the periphery of the city implies habitation was further inwards, without offering any more specific information.

The lower city of Argos, where finds of all periods have recently been listed and mapped,[13] offers a rather unclear mix of domestic, workshop and funerary areas, which seems to fit neither a concentrated nor a clustered model. Perhaps some form of non-continuous activity pattern has to be envisaged, but the data are not straightforward. The way the lower city was connected to both the Aspis and the Larisa acropoleis is a further complicating factor. For several other major cities, like Miletos, Thebes and, as far as relevant, large colonial centres like Syracuse or Sybaris, we simply do not have the overall picture.[14] While almost all do seem to show some densely built domestic (and workshop) areas, and some offer indications of the existence of several spatially separated quarters, there are no finds to suggest a rather open structure with small hamlets or villages.

All this certainly does not invalidate a 'village' model: the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. In at least part of the sites, the little evidence we do have, however, would also allow alternative models, either with a lower overall building density with some space for graves in between buildings, especially in more peripherial areas, or with rather larger urban clusters, which go much beyond the hamlet or village level.

The problem of periphery

An additional issue regarding the spatial organisation of early Greek towns is the wider setting of at least some of the walled acropolis sites. If one looks closer, not all of these may be small towns in empty surroundings.

A survey of the later extension of the small *polis* centre of Hyettos in western Boeotia shows that a 'lower city' probably already existed in the Archaic period.[15] At Smyrna too it has been noted that the walled city was probably surrounded by built-up areas on several sides from at least the seventh century onwards (Cook 1958–9: 15–16). One of the best-preserved hilltop *polis* centres on the Greek mainland, now known as Soros, probably ancient Amphanai, near Volos, shows substantial architectural remains, including a major temple, outside the fortified acropolis.[16]

Important extramural quarters may not be limited to these small centres, however. Even Early Iron Age and Archaic Athens should probably be envisaged as a core town on the Akropolis and its slopes with some peripheral functions (like the potters' quarter) and perhaps scattered habitations surrounding it. It is an interesting and in my view still open question whether the first new secular and religious public buildings, needed for the developing *polis* institutions which were built in the 'Old Agora' area around the east side of the Akropolis, belonged to the core or the periphery of the (domestic) city at the time. The later Agora definitely seems to have been developed in an area with little regular domestic architecture (Papadopoulos 2003: 280–97; Robertson 1998). Perhaps we should see the eccentric placement of public and religious buildings in some colonies, like Akragas, Selinous and, to some extent, Metapontion, in this planning context too, even though especially in the first two towns the setting in the landscape also played a role.

Bringing survey into the picture: Tanagra

Considering the limitations of the existing body of evidence, it may be worthwhile to start looking elsewhere and explore fresh data. This is where survey results may come in handy – not only the obvious ones concerning (later) city-states, but also some that might not seem relevant at first sight. As I argued some years ago, the general invisibility or bad visibility of Early Iron Age sherds in most Greek surveys nevertheless provides a few windows which do offer interesting peeks, if we look intensively and with an open mind (Stissi 2011: esp. 149–50). I then used two cases from personal experience, the finds in the countryside south-west of Tanagra in Boeotia, and the Voulokalyva area near the Classical and Hellenistic urban centres of the *polis* of Halos, in southern Thessaly. At both areas surveys have revealed only glimpses of Early Iron Age and Archaic settlement, but a combination of surveys and excavation has revealed a funerary landscape that may show a lot about the living as well.

First Tanagra, where both the city and a cross of transects in its surroundings were surveyed between 2000 and 2006 by teams from the Universiteit Leiden, directed by John Bintliff.[17] While the urban survey yielded hardly any finds older than c. 400 BC, below a dense carpet of mainly Late Roman material, the transects confirmed the presence of a ring of partly earlier cemeteries around the city – the original source not only of the famous Tanagra statuettes but also of large amounts

of Archaic and Classical Corinthian, Athenian and Boeotian decorated pottery, now mostly spread over European and American museums as a result of both intensive looting and some more official excavations (Higgins 1988). As more recent rescue projects have confirmed, these cemeteries do not appear to contain graves older than c. 600 BC.[18] This strongly suggests Tanagra as we see it now is a relatively late foundation, as some tantalising ancient written sources (possibly) referring to a *synoikismos* (merger) of older, smaller centres into a new *polis* also seem to indicate.[19]

One part of the survey area, the south transect, however, revealed a thin and scattered, but (compared to the other transects) conspicuous, spread of mainly very worn Early Iron Age-Archaic sherds (Fig. 3.2). These may well be the remains of a very much disturbed funerary area stretching beyond the just-mentioned ring of cemeteries closer to Tanagra, towards the hill now dominated by the Agios Konstantinos Monastery. Surveys moreover indicate that what remains of the partly destroyed hilltop is covered with sherds dating to most of the Bronze Age, the Early Iron Age and the Archaic and Classical periods, including some probable sixth- to fifth-century votive material. The most obvious (though of course hypothetical) interpretation of these finds is that the Agios Konstantinos hill was the place of one of the settlements that merged into Tanagra, where a sanctuary survived after (most of?) its inhabitants moved to the new *polis* centre. Interestingly, it seems that while the earliest nearby graves must have belonged to the village on the hill, burials continued after the foundation of Tanagra, even into the Classical period. Assuming the remains found in the survey are too extensive to be connected to continuing (possibly dispersed) habitation in

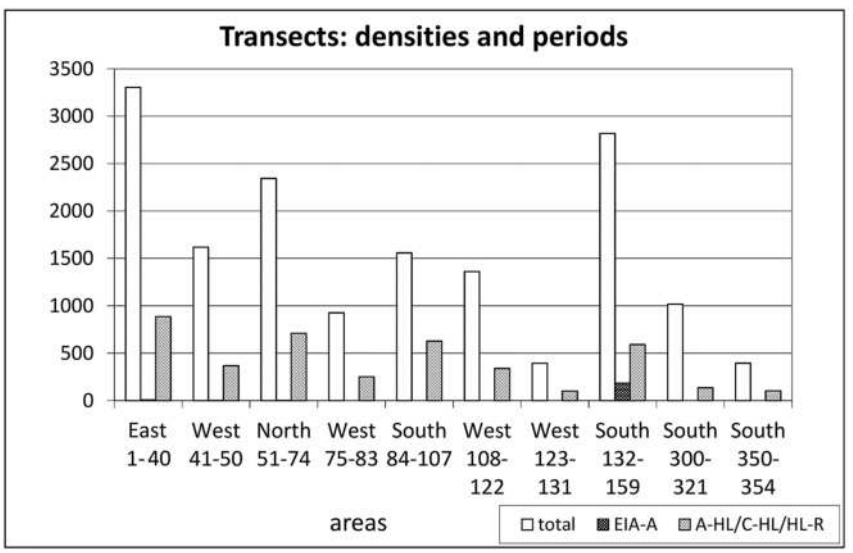

Figure 3.2 *The finds from the extra-urban transects of the Tanagra survey: percentages of material dated from the Early Iron Age to the Hellenistic period.*

the area, one may speculate that some Tanagraeans felt a continuous link with their ancestral home. In any case, the Tanagra-Agios Konstantinos combination might offer a glimpse of a settlement history which is less straightforward than the one standard models of *polis* development may suggest.

Bringing survey into the picture: the Classical and Hellenistic *polis* of Halos

The area of Halos, where the Dutch and the former 13th Ephorate have surveyed since 1990,[20] offers another case of a possible 'odd' settlement pattern, admittedly in a later period. Besides the usual array of small rural sites of all periods, the survey here has also covered a series of remains on hilltops which have usually been seen as Hellenistic fortifications, in view of their monumental defensive walls, strengthened with towers (Figs. 3.3-3.5). Although it had been noted that some of these hilltops show traces of monumental buildings outside their walls, it took the survey crew several site revisits and some intensive pottery collecting to realise these fortified sites were probably long-existing villages, in part apparently going back to the Early Iron Age, which were walled only at a late stage and continued to be inhabited into the Roman period, after first the central town and then the *polis* itself had ceased to exist.

Figure 3.3 *The fortified settlement at Agios Nikolaos/Baklali near ancient Halos, HASP site 1992/10. Drone photo: Ivan Kisjes, July 2012.*

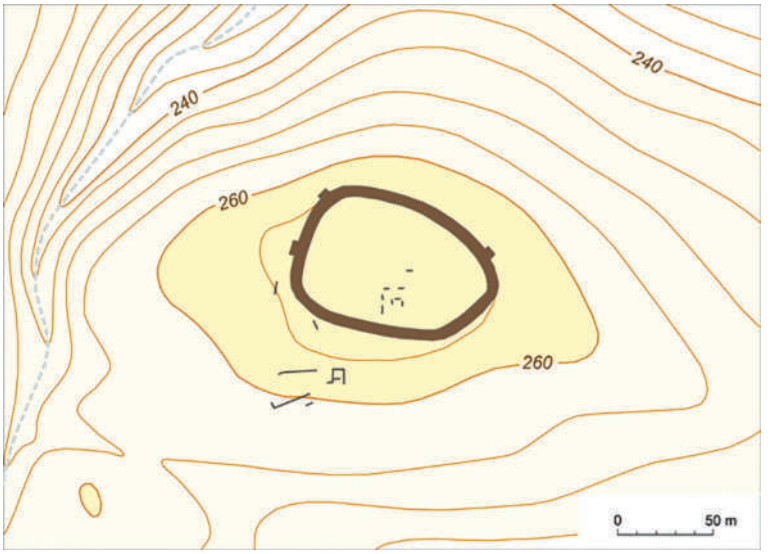

Figure 3.4 *The fortified settlement at Karatsadagli/Kastraki near ancient Halos, HASP site 1992/1. Map: H. R. Reinders.*

Figure 3.5 *The fortified settlement at Agios Nikolaos/Baklali near ancient Halos, HASP site 1992/10. Photo: D. Efsthatiou, July 2012.*

Furthermore, it is now clear from a stratigraphy visible in a road cut that one such hilltop site (Kastraki/Kato Xenias), previously mainly known for its Middle and Late Bronze Age remains, had at least two Classical–Hellenistic habitation phases, on top of two Bronze Age strata. This site also has remains of a Hellenistic fortification wall, and one of the slopes seems to be full of Classical and Hellenistic graves which continue to be looted. Similarly, substantial amounts of Classical–Hellenistic pottery on the Magoula Sourpis, in reality a combination of a natural formation and a proper magoula (tell) which was previously seen as an exclusively Bronze Age site, suggests this is another hilltop village. A fortification wall is not visible, but might well be hidden in the steep slopes of the magoula.

The spread of these small (c. 0.5-2.0 ha) hilltop settlements over the territory of the ancient *polis* of Halos (Fig. 3.6) is all the more interesting because there was no really major *polis* centre – that is, a town much larger than any other – for most of the time, possibly even none at all for parts of the fourth and third to second centuries. The large (c. 50 ha) and massively walled Hellenistic city seems to have existed for barely more than one generation (c. 300–c. 265 BC),[21] while its Classical (and presumably

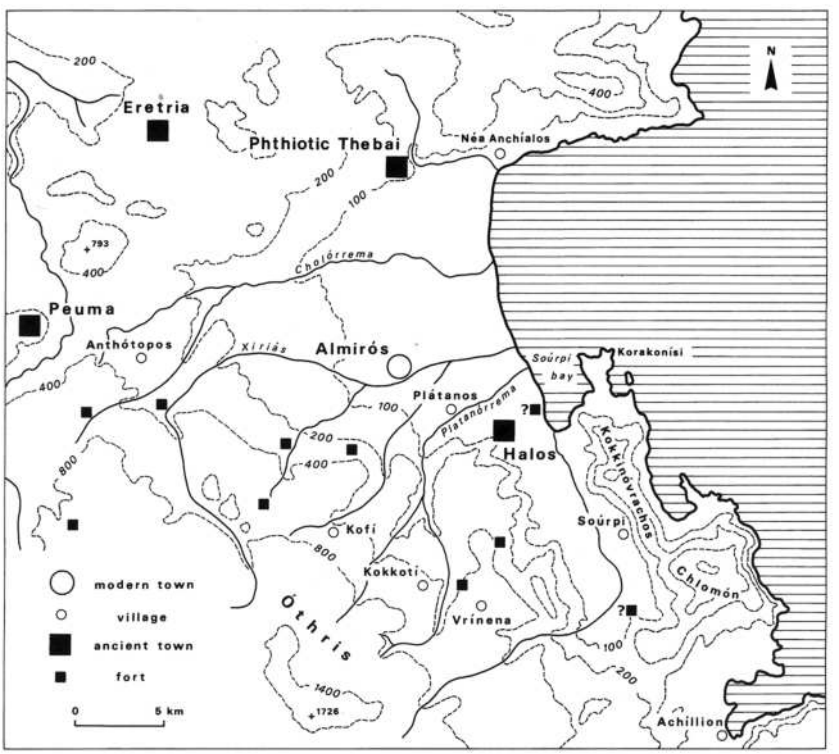

Figure 3.6 Poleis *and fortified sites in the wider area surrounding Halos. Map: H. R. Reinders, edited by the author.*

also earlier) predecessor on the nearby site now known as the Magoula Plataniotiki comprised less than 10 ha – probably even much less for most of the time, considering the low elevation of most of the tell and the rather small higher core.[22] It may not be entirely coincidental that the latter is more or less the size of the hilltop settlements of the area. Surface finds and recent excavations moreover indicate that substantial habitation on the Magoula Plataniotiki did not last much longer than that of the Hellenistic city, and both might even have been abandoned at the same moment. From that moment onwards, the town of Halos is not archaeologically visible or traceable any more, even though inscriptions indicate the *polis* of Halos survived into the Roman period. The only possible settled *polis* centre after the middle of the third century seems to be the very remote and not easily accessible kastro near Vrinena – which covers just 3 ha (Reinders et al. 2014: 23–5).

Just as at Tanagra, survey seems to reveal something quite different from the textbook monocentric city-state, with a relatively large central town surrounded by small hamlets and farms. Whereas Tanagra may be characterised as a pre-*polis* up to about 600, Halos seems to have been a *polis* without a very strong central focus in its habitation, and might have operated as a polycentric territory (which obviously does not exclude there always having been a formal centre named Halos). Unfortunately, for now the finds (excepting those of the short-lived Hellenistic city) do not offer many insights into the ways habitation was organised on a lower scale than that of the settlement itself.

Combining survey and excavation: Halos in the Early Iron Age

However, Halos does have more to offer regarding the subject of this chapter: its Early Iron Age remains.[23] While these are hardly visible in the survey results,[24] excavation offers some intriguing insights, though hardly from actual houses: rescue work prompted by the renewal and enlargement of the Athens–Thessaloniki motorway has revealed that a substantial area north and south of the Hellenistic city was filled with a thin spread of individual graves. Together with the almost forty partly still visible (and partly long known) Early Iron Age (and Archaic) burial mounds in the Voulokalyva area north of the Hellenistic city, and the remains of destroyed earlier graves under the Hellenistic city, these form an extensive funerary landscape, stretching for 2 km north-west to south-east and at least 1.5 km wide for much of this length (Fig. 3.7).[25] Even though this is one of the largest burial areas known from Greece, and probably the largest belonging to the Early Iron Age, there is no known, clear, contemporary habitation centre which can be connected with it.

Despite its distance, the Magoula Platianotiki may actually the best candidate, because the marshy area around it does not seem to be very suitable for burials; even though excavations have not reached pre-Classical levels yet, the presence of substantial amounts of earlier residual material suggests the site was inhabited at least from the eighth century. The area of the

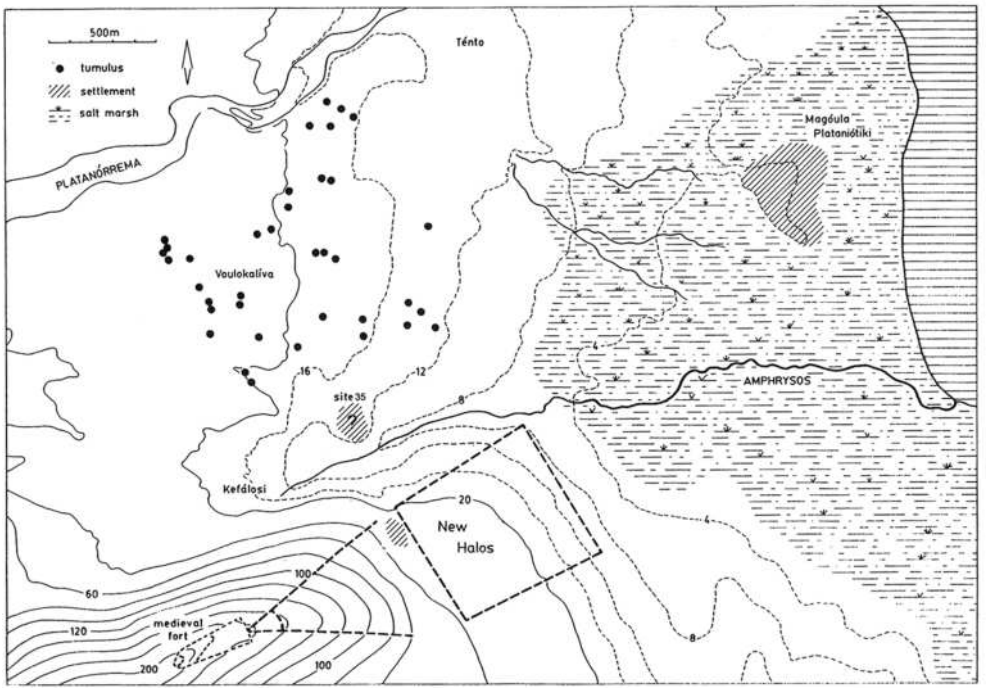

Figure 3.7 *Early Iron Age settlement near Halos and the burial mounds in the Voulokalyva area. Map: H.R. Reinders, edited by the author.*

Hellenistic city and slopes of the hill ('acropolis') directly west of it could offer another possibility. The *in situ* archaeological remains of Early Iron habitation here are very scanty, but clear enough: remains of two apsidal houses and a kiln, all dated to the Protogeometric and Subprotogeometric periods, have been found just outside the Hellenistic city walls (Malakasioti 2004: 354–5). Just possibly, a very thin spread of potential or certain Early Iron Age material near the Kephalosi spring, a little to the north-west, may also belong to this settlement area; another site with substantial Early Iron Age remains of unclear nature (1990/35) is not far away on the other side of the stream that starts from the spring. An alternative we should perhaps not discard beforehand is that Early Iron Age habitation, or a substantial part of it, was dispersed over the landscape, and not limited to concentrations – a possibility we could also consider for the Agios Konstantinos area, where the apparent funerary assemblage between the hilltop and Tanagra also contains some anomalous concentrations of finds.

Halos and Tanagra as exemplary cases?

An obvious question brought up by these survey finds from the Halos and Tanagra areas is whether we can see comparable non-standard kinds of settlement organisation in excavations too. In my view, we do indeed have some

clear indications, even from well-known sites. A first good case is offered by Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian's excavations on several locations at modern Skala Oropou, probably ancient Oropos (Mazarakis Ainian 1998; 2002a; 2002b; all with further references). These seem to have revealed small clusters of houses and outbuildings on relatively large and open walled plots, some which seem to be at some distance from their neighbours. Some of the plots moreover appear to include very large open areas of unclear use (sheep pens, gardens or even ploughed fields?). Considering the known extent of these open settlement remains and the later history of Oropos as an Attic border town, we should perhaps consider its structure as one of the regular possible layouts of Early Iron Age and Archaic towns.

Before offering other cases, it could already be noted that the survey and excavation results around the Hellenistic city of Halos, with widely spread and non-continuous remains of Early Iron Age habitation, would fit an Oropos-like 'townscape' very well. This model may moreover fit the somewhat problematic situation at Early Iron Age Nichoria (McDonald and Coulson 1983; Fägerstrom 1988: 32–6), where the well-known excavated houses seem to float in space; the small Early Iron Age hamlet at Lathouresa in Attica (Lauter 1985);, and perhaps even the isolated bits of Geometric Thorikos (Fägerstrom 1988: 51–3), which seem too far apart and spread over too large an area to belong to a continuous settlement with a 'traditional' layout. It may also be noted here that Askra as described by Hesiod does not appear to be a densely and continuously built settlement either – which the rather thin spread of finds in the survey of the area may well confirm (Bintliff 1996).

Although only partially excavated, the clearest documented case of a low-density town is the well-known Early Iron Age to Archaic site at Emporio on Chios (Boardman 1967; Fägerstrom 1988: 86–7). The visible remains there very clearly show widely spaced small houses on not very clearly defined open plots along a road climbing a slope towards a fortified acropolis, which was apparently not densely built over either. Although the setting on a slope outside the main fortification may have been a factor in the spatial organisation, the general low density of the built-up area was not an unavoidable choice, and seems in sharp contrast with places like Zagora, Azoria (Haggis et al. 2007) or Vroulia, each of which in different ways has combinations of clusters of densely built areas and open spaces. Even if many contemporary places of which we still know little, like Minoa on Amorgos, Koukounaries on Paros or early Miletos, may rather have fitted the latter model, we should remain open to the possibility that the more open town was a serious alternative form of town planning, which we have till now overlooked. Another *polis* centre which comes to mind here is Early Iron Age Eretria (Mazarakis Ainian 1987; Fägerstrom 1988: 54–7; Lang 1996: 284–95; Vink 1997: 121), which is generally seen as example of a large town composed of villages. The excavated evidence indeed offers several clusters of free-standing apsidal houses, but it is unclear what happens in between the excavated parts. The apparent presence of Geometric deposits over most of the city area (Fig. 3.8) may actually suggest a continuous low-density habitation rather than clustering.

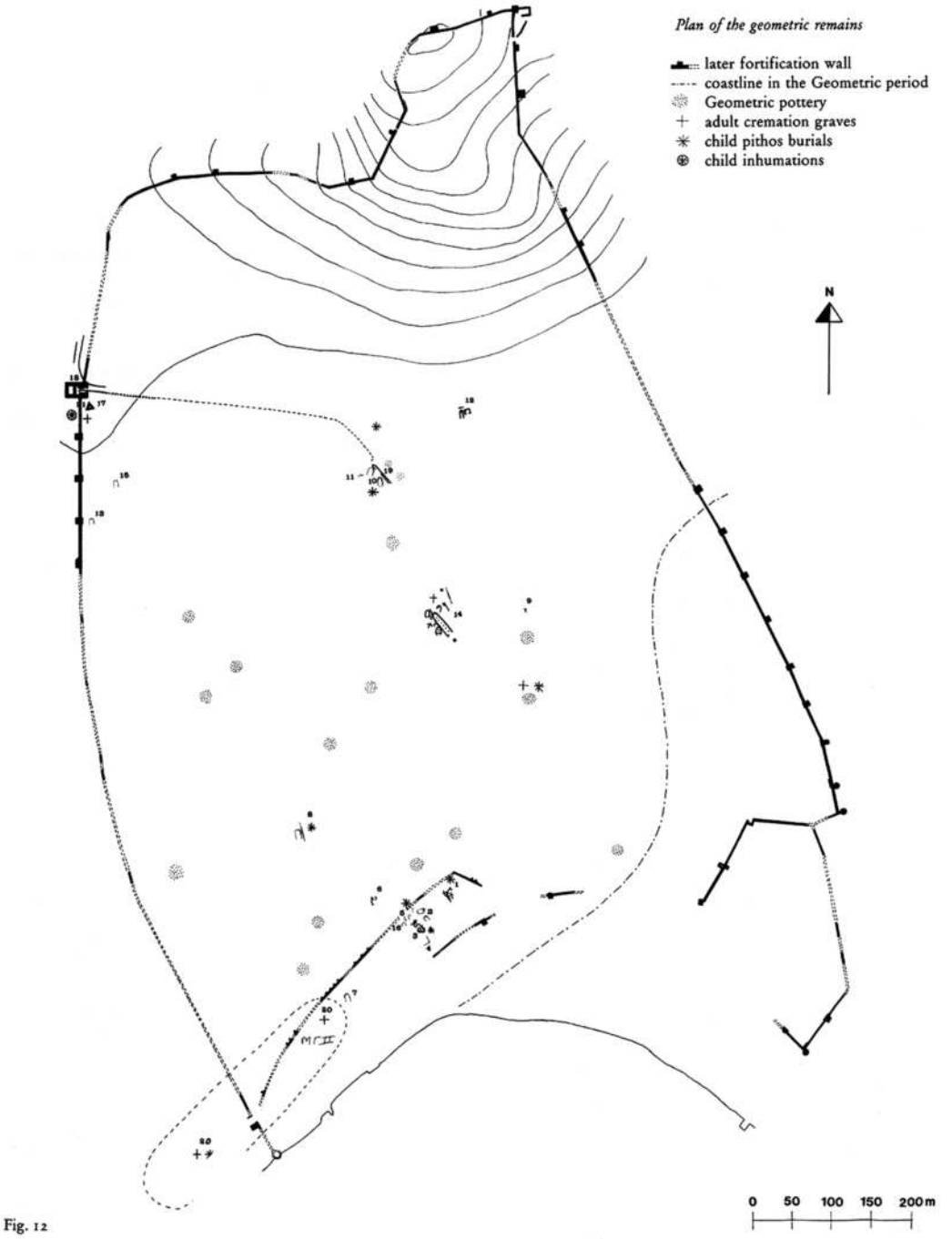

Figure 3.8 *Concentrations of Early Iron Age finds in the area of ancient Eretria (Mazarakis Ainian 1987: 19, fig. 12).*

And perhaps we should not only take the 'old' towns into consideration here. Some of the earliest evidence from the colonies may also be relevant. It has already been shown that at Megara Hyblaia, and probably also elsewhere, colonists started by building small, one-room houses (c. 20–5 m^2) on relatively large plots allotted to them, to fill in the open space only later (Fusaro 1982; Di Vita 1996: 266–8). This does not look very different from the situation at Skala Oropou or Emporio, but the analogy may go even further. Although the state of preservation and excavation may play a role, it seems that in the central area which has been the focus of the excavations only a part of the plots in Megara Hyblaia was used in the earlier days of the colonisation, and so much of the space in the building blocks was left open for decades or even centuries. Perhaps filling in went more quickly at many more successful colonies, but the set-up does seem to indicate for once that very open, extensively inhabited cities were quite conceivable in the Early Iron Age and Early Archaic Greek world, and should perhaps be added to the existing standard models of early Greek town planning.

This finally brings me back to the survey finds at Thespiae. I hope to have shown in the above that the traditional view of the large Early Iron Age towns in Greece as composed of hamlets or clusters of rather dense habitation is not the only interpretative model. Indeed, much of the limited evidence we have of Early Iron Age and Early Archaic towns may fit a dispersed low-density habitation better, and I would want to argue that the 'scattered town' deserves a place in our vocabulary and interpretative framework as well. Furthermore, I would propose that the even scatter of early pottery over much of Thespiae, while not incompatible with a city of villages, would indeed better fit a thin spread of houses on large open plots – Oropos rather than Zagora. I hope, Anthony, that you can live with that . . .

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Notes

1. See e.g. Osborne 1985; Morris 1991; Doukellis and Mendoni 1994; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994; Lang 1996; 2005; 2007; Hall 1997; Mazarakis Ainian 1997; 2007; Morgan and Coulton 1997; Vink 1997; Bintliff 1999; 2012: 213–24, 240–3, 259–62; 2014; Ault 2000; Greco 2000; Cahill 2002; Ault and Nevett 2005; Cavanagh et al. 2005; Coucouzeli 2007; Crielaard 2009.
2. E.g. Mazarakis Ainian 1988; 1997; Morris 1991; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994; Nevett 1994; 1995; 1999; 2003; 2005; 2007; De Polignac 1995; Hall 1997; Antonaccio 2000; Ault 2000; Cahill 2002; Lang 2005; 2007; Coucouzeli 2007; Westgate 2007a; 2007b; Bintliff 2014.
3. Kolb 1984: 67–112; Crielaard 2009; Bintliff 2012: 213–24, 240–3, 259–62; Neer 2012: 79, 95–7.

4. Antonaccio 2000; Lang 2005; 2007; Mazarakis Ainian 1997; Greco 2000; Nevett 2003; Coucouzeli 2007; Westgate 2007b; Bintliff 2014.
5. Métraux 1978: esp. 204–12; Fusaro 1982; Kolb 1984: 102–12; Di Vita 1996: 266–8; but see Greco 2000.
6. Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994; Di Vita 1996; Mertens and Greco 1996; Cahill 2002; Ault 2005; Westgate 2007a; 2007b.
7. E.g. Runnels and Van Andel 1987; Lohmann 1993; Snodgrass 1987–9; 1991; Bintliff 1999; 2014; Cavanagh et al. 2002; 2005.
8. The overviews and illustrations of the catalogues of sites in Fägerstrom 1988 and Lang 1996 show this very clearly.
9. Cambitoglou et al. 1971; 1988; see Fägerstrom 1988: 61–6; Coucouzeli 2007.
10. Halos/Magoula Plataniotiki (see below) may be another candidate.
11. Cook 1958–9; Nicholls 1958–9; Akurgal 1983; Cook and Nicholls 1998; see also Fägerstrom 1988: 91–6; Lang 1996: 235–43.
12. Papadopoulos 1996; 2003: 271–316; see also Schnurr 1995a; 1995b; Robertson 1998 (all with many references to earlier views and discussions).
13. Pariente and Touchais 1998; see Lang 1996: 174–6; Hall 1997: 93–9.
14. For Miletos, see Lang 2006: 198–217; Senff 2000; for Thebes, Symeonoglou 1985: 89–113; for the colonies: Di Vita 1996: esp. 270–4; Mertens and Greco 1996.
15. This material is now under study by a team of scholars including the author of this chapter.
16. See Lang 1996: 274–6, with references and illustration.
17. Preliminary reports of the project: Bintliff et al. 2001; 2002; 2004; 2004–5; Bintliff 2003; 2006; see also Stissi 2011: 153–7.
18. Higgins 1988: 23–4, 40–9; Fossey 1988: 47–9, with (partly confused) references; Andreiomenou 2007: 14–16, with references. See also Stissi 2011: 156.
19. Stissi 2011: 156; Higgins 1988: 23–4; Fossey 1988: 53; Roller 1989: 13, 19–27, 31–2; Andreiomenou 2007: 14–16, all with further references to ancient sources.
20. For preliminary reports on survey work in Halos and its surroundings, see Haagsma et al. 1993; Reinders et al. 2000; Reinders 2004 (with some further references); Stissi 2012. A more complete overview of publications can be found on http://thessalika-erga.nl/publications/by-year (accessed April 2015). A new synthetic report will appear in *Pharos* 2015.
21. For the Hellenistic city, see Reinders 1988; Reinders and Prummel 2003; Reinders et al. 2014.
22. See Reinders et al. 2014: 13–15. A preliminary publication of excavation on the site in 2013 and 2014 will appear in *Pharos* 2015.
23. See Stissi 2011: 151–3; for preliminary publications of excavated and surveyed Early Iron Age remains, see Malakasioti 1992; 1993; 1997; 2004; Dyer and Haagsma 1993; Reinders 2004; and the overview of publications on http://thessalika-erga.nl/publications/by-year (accessed April 2015).
24. Leaving aside the burial mounds in the Voulokalyva area, only between seven and eleven sites (of a total of around 200) yielded remains of the Early Iron Age to Archaic periods. In most of these the Early Iron Age finds were very few (from one to three sherds, not all easily dateable) and were found together with, usually more abundant, material of other periods. All three more substantial sites were actually encountered in and around the strip cleared for the extension of the national road, and subsequently excavated (2000/25, 2002/7 and 2002/13). These may belong to one large Early Iron Age-Archaic funerary area, on the hills below present-day Drymona.
25. Dyer and Haagsma 1993; Malakasioti 2004; Stissi et al. 2004.

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Section II

Around Homer

4

Homer and the Ekphrasists: Text and Picture in the Elder Philostratus' 'Scamander' (*Imagines* I.1)

Michael Squire and Jaś Elsner

Introduction

In his seminal 1998 book, *Homer and the Artists*: *Text and Picture in Early Greek Art*, Anthony Snodgrass makes no mention of the *Imagines*, or indeed of its author, the Elder Philostratus. As Anthony would no doubt remind us, one would need have a very late (probably Byzantine) view of 'Greek art' to conceive of Philostratus alongside the word 'early'. Yet the *Imagines*, written at around the beginning of the third century AD, provides one of the most scintillating accounts of ancient painting to survive from pre-Christian antiquity; it probes the very categories of 'text' and 'picture' that defined Snodgrass' project.

In this chapter, written in honour of a much-respected scholar by two students whose Classical archaeological education fell entirely within the orbit of Snodgrass' Cambridge, we argue that Philostratus' *Imagines* offers a series of reflections pertinent to Anthony's long-standing concern with pictorial (non-)mediations of Homer.[1] As we shall see, Philostratus' opening – and highly programmatic – tableau of Scamander (*Imag.* I.1) gives voice to a painting that draws its theme and inspiration from Homer. In doing so, the passage prefigures some of the interpretative quandaries with which Anthony would grapple over seventeen centuries later.

Before explaining what we mean here, perhaps we should begin with a brief word about the Elder Philostratus.[2] Born around AD 170, and with an active literary career that spanned the first half of the third century (mainly in Athens, it seems, but perhaps after an earlier spell in Rome), Philostratus is one of the finest prose writers of the so-called 'Second Sophistic'. His written Greek (especially in the *Imagines*) is not easy: he frequently uses rare or antiquarian words, often delighting in punning formulations;[3] like other Second Sophistic authors, Philostratus also alludes to a range of earlier writings in verse and prose (a good deal of it no longer extant to us), and across a broad spectrum of poetic, historical and philosophical genres. Philostratus is the main historian of the sophistic movement (in his two-book *Lives of the Sophists*). But he was also a pioneering

writer of pre-Christian hagiography (in his eight-book *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*). Among Philostratus' extant works can be found a miscellany of other texts besides: the *Gymnasticus* (a protreptic account of athletics as a form of *paideia*), the *Heroicus* (a remarkable dialogue about the living cult of the Homeric heroes in the early third century AD), a series of *Letters* (mainly erotic), a *dialexis* ('lecture'), and perhaps also the historically situated dialogue about *Nero*.[4] The *Imagines* pays testimony to the same penchant for literary innovation and generic crossover. What we find here is a series of speeches, carefully arranged across two books (complete with introductory proem), responding to a display of pictures in a purported Neapolitan gallery. As a work of epideictic discourse (καὶ ἐπίδειξιν αὐτὰ ποιησόμεθα, Praef. 5), the *Imagines* is also inscribed with a pedagogical purpose: the text is conceived as 'lectures for the young, from which they will both make interpretations and attend to what is esteemed in them' (ὁμιλίας αὐτὰ τοῖς νέοις συντιθέντες, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἑρμηνεύσουσί τε καὶ τοῦ δοκίμου ἐπιμελήσονται, Praef. 3).[5]

Philostratus' works had a profound impact on the later history of Greek literature – in the fourth century AD, certainly, but also over the course of a much longer timeline. One thinks, for example, of the *Lives of the Sophists* (a model for Eunapius' fourth-century *Lives of the Philosophers*), as well as the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (which became a paradigm for later Christian saints' lives and an object of attack for Christian apologetics). Of all Philostratus' writings, however, none would prove as influential as the *Imagines*. On the one hand, the text seems to have reinvented the rhetorical trope of ekphrasis, transforming the set-piece literary description of visual stimuli into a series of exuberant performances gathered together within a single self-standing work.[6] On the other hand, the *Imagines* was itself the subject of various late antique and Byzantine imitations:[7] surviving late antique emulations include a book of *Imagines* written by the purported grandson of Philostratus ('Philostratus the Younger'), and a book of statue descriptions by a certain Callistratus.[8]

There is much to say about the *Imagines*, both in terms of its Second Sophistic context, and as a work that had enormous intellectual and artistic purchase in the late Renaissance (above all, following the *editio princeps* of 1503, and not least the 1578 French edition by Blaise de Vigenère, which remains the most detailed philological commentary to date).[9] In view of our honorand's own research interests, however, this chapter is focused on a more specific aim: to demonstrate how the *Imagines* anticipated some of the issues which Anthony tackled in relation to 'Homeric' Greek art. Both exegetes, ancient and modern, we suggest, concerned themselves with related questions about finding (and indeed not finding) registers of Homeric meaning in pictures.

In chronological and geographical terms, the archaeological materials examined in *Homer and the Artists* are a far cry from the paintings evoked in the *Imagines*. As we have said, Philostratus was most likely working in the early third century AD, and the *Imagines* proem establishes a specific narrative frame for the descriptions of paintings that follow:

Philostratus' gallery is set in a private villa outside the walls of Naples, spurring inevitable scholarly quibbles about the authenticity or fabrication of the 'original' paintings.[10] By contrast, Anthony's interest lay in the very origins of Greek figurative art from around the eighth century BC onwards. The specific – and hugely influential – argument of *Homer and the Artists* concerned the schematic iconography of Late Geometric, 'Orientalising' and Early Archaic art: the book explores how the earliest extant figurative engagements with Greek myth relate to the poetic narratives of Homeric epic. Challenging scholars like Friis Johansen, who had talked of 'the *Iliad* in early Greek art' (Johansen 1967),[11] and developing the critical line of Robert Cook (the book's learned dedicatee, and Anthony's predecessor in the Laurence Chair: Cook 1983), *Homer and the Artists* set out to demonstrate the fundamental disjuncture between early Greek art and literature.[12] With each image that he examined, Anthony was careful to compare and contrast iconographic details with the relevant verses of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: the neck of a famous Attic Geometric *oinochoe* in Munich (Fig. 4.1), for example, is set against a translated quotation of *Od.* XII.417–25, leading to some salient observations about both similarities and differences in narrative implications.[13] Cumulatively, and in typical 'Snodgrassian' fashion, Anthony's argument combines the qualitative perspectives of art history with the quantitative

Figure 4.1 *Neck of a Late Geometric Attic* oinochoe *with shipwreck scene (= Munich, Antikensammlung: inv. 8696). Photo: reproduced by kind permission of the Archiv, Institut für Klassische Archäologie und Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich.*

'datasets' of archaeology:[14] if the earliest extant images of the Trojan War are shown to be at frequent odds with the narrative details of the Homeric poems, they are also outnumbered by thematic subjects without parallel in Homer (or indeed other apparent Epic Cyclical poems). Epic has little or no direct influence on the origins of narrative painting, the book concludes, because only a small number of scenes draw on Homeric subjects; even among this number, moreover, there are notable discrepancies between the narrative particulars of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the visual details of the pictures.[15]

Rather than get drawn into the historical particulars of this archaeological debate, our objective here is to demonstrate how Anthony's essential attempt to disentangle Homeric words from assumed 'Homericising' pictures finds an intellectual counterpart in the *Imagines*. By the time Philostratus was writing, a great deal of intellectual energy had been expended in trying to determine the 'Homeric' credentials of images.[16] Anthony himself has written about some of the most relevant Imperial Greek texts – not least Pausanias' description of the 'Chest of Cypselus', in which the author, probably helped by local guides at Olympia, appears to have interpreted a seemingly 'un-Homeric' set of pictures through a distinctly Homericising lens (*Periegesis* V.17.5–19.10).[17] But there are numerous other parallels besides. Second Sophistic authors delighted in the topos of Homer as ὁ ἄριστος τῶν γραφέων (at once 'the best of writers' and the 'best of painters': Luc. *Imag.* 8),[18] and some directly pitched the resources of Homeric poetry against those of the plastic arts too (nowhere more so than in Dio Chrysostom's twelfth, 'Olympic' *Oration*).[19] Such concern with visualising Homeric episodes – no less than with teasing out the differences between poetic and pictorial modes of mediating them – provides the cultural backdrop for much Hellenistic and Imperial Roman visual culture too: one thinks especially of the so-called *Tabulae Iliacae*, or 'Iliac tablets' (cf. Figs. 4.4–4.5 and 6.1 below), with their studied juxtapositions of miniature texts and images pertaining to (among other subjects) the Homeric poems.[20]

Nowhere is this concern with the 'pictorial' qualities of Homeric poetry more evident than in the field of ancient literary criticism. Again and again, we find Hellenistic, Imperial and Byzantine scholars returning to the 'graphic' elements of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* – Homer's appeal not just to the ears of his audience, but also to the eyes. Taking their lead from the language of Stoic philosophy (and in particular ideas about *phantasia*, or imaginary 'impression'), numerous commentators associated this 'spectatorial' quality with the idea of *enargeia* (a notoriously tricky term to translate, but implying a sense of visual 'vividness').[21] *Enargeia* was much discussed in Imperial Greek rhetorical handbooks, associated in turn with the phenomenon of ekphrasis: when successfully employed, a rhetorical speech could make use of ekphrastic description to make audiences (almost) 'see' the things described.[22] As literary scholia make clear, it was Homer who provided the paradigmatic model for such rhetorical 'spectatorship'. So skilled was Homer at producing novel effects, writes Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the first century BC, and so much was he

a lover of craftsmanship (φιλοτεχνῶν), that we 'see the events as clearly when they are described to us as if they were actually happening' (ὥστε μηδὲν ἡμῖν διαφέρειν γινόμενα τὰ πράγματα ἢ λεγόμενα ὁρᾶν, *Comp*. 20). At numerous points within their commentaries on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, extant scholiasts drew out that 'enargetic' quality explicitly: the Homeric description of the baby Astyanax, frightened by the plumed helmet of his father Hector, is full of *enargeia*, writes one scholiast, since 'the events are not only heard, but also seen';[23] indeed, at certain moments, Homeric description is said to outstrip the visual arts altogether – as when the Homeric description of Ajax's laboured breathing in the sixteenth book of the *Iliad* is 'praised for being even more vivid than a painting' (ἐπαινεῖται δὲ ὁ τόπος ὡς καὶ ζωγραφίας ἐναργέστερον ἔχων: Σ T. ad. *Il*. XVI.107–11 = Erbse 1969–88: 4.187). Seen in this perspective, the elaborate epic depictions on objects like the Iliac tablets might be understood as giving material form to the literary quality of *enargeia* for which Homeric poetry was so renowned: by turning the subjects of Homer into *actual* pictures, the *Tabulae Iliacae* transform audiences into literal spectators, allowing them physically to see what Homer made metaphorically visible.

It is against this same cultural and literary backdrop that Philostratus' *Imagines* should also be understood. As we shall see, Philostratus' interest lay not just in the evoked picture, nor indeed in the art of evoking it, but also in the challenges of rendering verbal narrative as visual object, and, vice versa, of turning painterly object back into narrative text. The opening tableau of Scamander programmatically captures the complexities of that larger Philostratean project: as we shall see, it acts out, and in turn problematises, what it might mean to turn Homeric poetry into pictures, all the while responding to pictures in the medium of words.

Our overriding aim in what follows is to showcase the conceptual complexities that underpin Philostratus' opening tableau. In order to structure our reading, we organise our thoughts around around five intersecting thematic frames. We begin by introducing our Philostratean case study, as well as its Homeric point of departure, asking why Philostratus might have chosen to begin the *Imagines* with this scene. In the second section we then turn to the ancient reception of the Scamander episode – to actual images of the Homeric passage, as well as to ancient literary critical responses to its 'vivid' *enargeia*. In connection with that literary critical reception, the third section explores ancient allegorical interpretations of the Homeric story: in the Scamander tableau, we argue, Philostratus masterfully merges the project of viewing a literal picture with the intellectual perceptions of allegorical perception. This takes us to a fourth theme, centred on the passage's knowing pitching of literal seeing with literary insight (something we discuss with particular reference to the presentation of Scamander as both a river and a personified entity). Fifth and finally, we relate the passage's playful pitching of words and images back to the description at hand. In this highly programmatic opening, audiences are faced not just with an ekphrasis, but rather with an ekphrasis *about* ekphrastic visualisation: exploiting the relationship

between a purported picture of Scamander and the 'original' text from which it derives, Philostratus probes the very nature of 'seeing', and of seeing the literary world of Homeric epic in particular.

1. Reading Philostratus' 'Scamander'

At this point, let us present Anthony with the full text of Philostratus' opening 'Scamander' tableau, together with a preliminary attempt at an English translation (*Imag.* I.1):[24]

Σκάμανδρος

(1) ἔγνως, ὦ παῖ, ταῦτα Ὁμήρου ὄντα ἢ οὐ πώποτε ἔγνωκας δηλαδὴ θαῦμα ἡγούμενος, ὅπως δήποτε ἔζει[25] τὸ πῦρ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι; συμβάλωμεν οὖν, ὅ τι νοεῖ, σὺ δὲ ἀπόβλεψον αὐτῶν, ὅσον ἐκεῖνα ἰδεῖν, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἡ γραφή. οἶσθά που τῆς Ἰλιάδος τὴν γνώμην, ἐν οἷς Ὅμηρος ἀνίστησι μὲν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἐπὶ τῷ Πατρόκλῳ, κινοῦνται δὲ οἱ θεοὶ πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλοις. τούτων οὖν τῶν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἡ γραφὴ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐκ οἶδε, τὸν δὲ Ἥφαιστον ἐμπεσεῖν φησι τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ πολὺν καὶ ἄκρατον.

(2) ὅρα δὴ πάλιν· πάντα ἐκεῖθεν. ὑψηλὴ μὲν αὕτη ἡ πόλις καὶ ταυτὶ τὰ κρήδεμνα τοῦ Ἰλίου, πεδίον δὲ τουτὶ μέγα καὶ ἀποχρῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀντιτάξαι, πῦρ δὲ τοῦτο πολὺ μὲν πλημμυρεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πεδίου, πολὺ δὲ περὶ τὰς ὄχθας ἕρπει τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὡς μηκέτι αὐτῷ δένδρα εἶναι. τὸ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἥφαιστον πῦρ ἐπιρρεῖ τῷ ὕδατι, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἀλγεῖ καὶ ἱκετεύει τὸν Ἥφαιστον αὐτός. ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε ὁ ποταμὸς γέγραπται κομῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ περικεκαῦσθαι οὔτε χωλεύων ὁ Ἥφαιστος ὑπὸ τοῦ τρέχειν. καὶ τὸ ἄνθος τοῦ πυρὸς οὐ ξανθόν οὐδὲ τῇ εἰθισμένῃ ὄψει, ἀλλὰ χρυσοειδὲς καὶ ἡλιῶδες. ταῦτα οὐκέτι Ὁμήρου.

Scamander

(1) Did you recognise, my boy, that these things are of Homer, or have you in fact not yet recognised it (deeming it a wonder that fire was once boiling in water)? Well, let's infer what it intimates. But you – you turn away from it,[26] so as to see those things from which the drawing/writing [*hē graphē*] comes. You know, I suppose, the judgement of the *Iliad* in which Homer has Achilles rise up as Patroclus' avenger and where the gods are stirred into warring with one another. Well, of these events concerning the gods the drawing/writing [*hē graphē*] does not know the rest, but it does tell of the great violence with which Hephaestus fell upon Scamander.

(2) Now look back again. Everything is from there: that's the lofty citadel, and there the battlements of Troy; that there is the great plain with room enough for martialling Asia against Europe; that is the great fire which floods over the plain and mightily creeps around the river-banks (so that the trees are no longer there). The fire about Hephaestus is streaming along the water's surface, and the river suffers and is itself beseeching Hephaestus. But the river is not painted/described [*gegraptai*] as having locks (on account of them all being burnt off), nor Hephaestus as being lame (on account of his running).

> And the bloom of the fire is not Xanthian-brown or of its customary visual appearance; rather, it's like gold and like the sun. These qualities are no longer those of Homer.

What we are offered here – in the first of some sixty-five ekphrastic descriptions – is the text of a speech purportedly delivered in front of a painting (which is in turn derived from a prior, 'Homeric' text). Directly before our passage, the *Imagines* had begun with a first-person narrative proem, one that establishes both a conceptual and a pragmatic frame for the ensuing descriptions: just as the speaker had pledged, the author makes the paintings the subject of an epideictic discourse, addressing his pictorial interpretations to the young son of his host, with older youths (τὰ μειράκια, Praef. 5) standing by.[27] With the opening words of this description (ἔγνως, ὦ παῖ, I.1.1), we are launched straight into that dramatic scenario: the written text not only mediates the paintings of the gallery, but also represents the live speech of a reported discourse, instantiating the proem's promise.[28]

That Philostratus should open his ekphrastic gallery-tour with a 'Homeric' image is in one sense little surprise.[29] Philostratus begins with an episode drawn from the earliest and most canonical of all Greek writers: its depicted story about the river Scamander derives from the larger 'Ocean' of Homeric poetry – the source from and to which all literary creativity figuratively flowed.[30] At the same time, the passage goes out of its way to underscore its Homeric credentials, announcing Homer's name in the fifth word and repeating it twice (not least in the final word of the description). As the most canonical of Greek authors, Homer crops up frequently throughout the *Imagines*;[31] in a nod to this opening description, he is also explicitly mentioned in the last ekphrasis, which described a painting of personified Seasons, or Horai (II.34).[32] Only in two other descriptions, however, does Homer's name come twice (II.7 and II.8), and never again does it occur three times in a single tableau. In this sense, the first ekphrasis of the *Imagines* sets up one of the text's key thematics – the relations between words and pictures – in terms of antiquity's most canonical literary forebear.

But why might Philostratus have chosen this *particular* Iliadic episode? As the tableau's 'Scamandrian' title suggests, summoning up the subject in a single word,[33] the theme draws on events narrated in *Iliad* XXI. Although the painting is said to revolve around the river Scamander, the depicted action is derived from a larger narrative context. The story, as Homer tells it, centres on Achilles' return to battle after Hector had killed Patroclus: the protagonist's merciless massacre of Trojan troops, narrated in graphic detail, serves as the first intimation of revenge. At this particular moment in the story, Achilles has already sent the Trojans into scurrying retreat: some have reached the plain stretching in front of the city, while others have plunged into the 'silver eddies of the deep-flowing river' (ἐς ποταμόν . . . βαθύρροον ἀργυροδίνην, *Iliad* XXI.8). With his foes having fled into the Scamander's waters, Achilles continues his bloodbath within the Scamander itself – that is, until the river-god himself intervenes, appearing 'in the semblance of a man, sending out his voice from the deep eddy' (ἀνέρι

εἰσάμενος, βαθέης δ' ἐκφθέγξατο δίνης, *Iliad* v. 213). When Achilles ignores Scamander's plea to conduct his killing outside the river's waters, Scamander takes matters into his own hands: he summons up a giant tsunami wave to protect the Trojans, chasing the terrified Achilles across the plain (vv. 233–71). But the Olympian gods do not take kindly to Scamander's hybristic intervention: stirred by Achilles' desperate prayer (vv. 273–83), Hera marshals the West Wind and charges Hephaestus to kindle a fire along the banks of the river (vv. 328–41). With the Scamander now aflame – its streams boiling like a cauldron (vv. 362–7), its fish desperately trying to escape the heat (vv. 350–5) – Scamander persuades Hera to end her divine counter-offensive. This is the last we hear of the personified river, with the earthly fighting now re-erupting upon a divine stage (vv. 38–525).

As Philostratus knew full well, the Scamander episode provides a sort of miniature encapsulation of Homer's larger story. At the beginning of *Iliad* XXI, the poet reminds us how quickly the tables have turned: the same plain on which the Trojans now find themselves in retreat was just one day earlier the site of Hector's glorious rampage (v. 5). The episode also hints proleptically forward, encompassing a future narrative time (beyond the temporal remit of the *Iliad*): fearing an ignoble death in Scamander's flood, Achilles complains that this is not the fate promised to him (vv. 273–83) – that it was 'beneath the walls of the cuirass-clad Trojans' that he should 'be killed by the swift arrows of Apollo' (Τρώων ὑπὸ τείχεϊ θωρηκτάων | λαιψηροῖς ὀλέεσθαι Ἀπόλλωνος βελέεσσιν, vv. 277–8; cf. vv. 294–7). By the same token, Scamander's final spoken words amount to a promise not to intervene in the war again: he will 'never ward off the evil day from the Trojans – even when Troy will blaze with the burning of consuming fire, when the warlike sons of the Achaeans will set it aflame' (μή ποτ' ἐπὶ Τρώεσσιν ἀλεξήσειν κακὸν ἦμαρ, | μηδ' ὁπότ' ἂν Τροίη μαλερῷ πυρὶ πᾶσα δάηται | καιομένη, καίωσι δ' ἀρήϊοι υἷες Ἀχαιῶν, vv. 374–6).[34]

2. Ancient responses to the Scamander episode in words and pictures

Reading our passage against its Homeric model furnishes one preliminary narratological answer as to why Philostratus might have chosen to begin his gallery-tour with this scene. The *Imagines*' opening tableau translates the *Iliad* into the landscape of a single pictorial moment: the episode's appeal, we might say, lies in its framed telescoping of a grander poetic narrative span.[35]

But such narratological readings form only part of the picture. To appreciate the choice of opening image, we suggest, it is necessary to say something about ancient responses to the Scamander episode – by ancient artists, as well as by ancient literary critics. In what follows, we hope that two intersecting points will emerge. On the one hand, Philostratus begins his *Imagines* with a painterly subject that in fact attracted *minimal* pictorial attention in antiquity: he asks readers to imagine a scene *without* an established iconography. On the other hand, Philostratus' selection of episode is informed by ancient literary critical responses to the Iliadic story, which reiteratively championed the visual graphicness or *enargeia*

of the original Homeric description. The paradox at work here – of a subject without established pictorial precedent, but nonetheless thought to showcase Homer at his most 'painterly' – will be essential for the comments that follow.

The issue of pictorial 'models' for Philostratus' tableaux is important. Throughout the *Imagines*, the author plays knowingly with established artistic formulae: he assumes an audience *au fait* not only with a library of literary texts, but also with the iconographic conventions of Classical art.[36] The proem itself underscores those artistic credentials: it tells how the speaker had spent four years as a guest of 'Aristodemus of Caria', 'for the sake of painting' (ἐπὶ ζωγραφίᾳ).[37]

Philostratus' careful attention to iconography makes his decision to open with the Scamander episode all the more striking. For while so many of Philostratus' tableaux invite the audience to imagine the described image in terms of established pictorial precedent, this is a scene that went almost untreated in Greek and Roman art. The small handful of extant ancient artistic scenes engaging with the story drive home the point. When the artist of the fifth- or sixth-century AD *Ilias Ambrosiana* looked to translate the Homeric episode into the miniature paintings accompanying the codex, for example, he was effectively forced to invent an iconography: there seems to have been no pictorial tradition for the artist to fall back on. One of the manuscript's miniatures (LII) shows a personified Scamander beside his eponymous river, with beard and dark green *himation* draped around the hips, a reed in his left hand, and a crown of reeds atop his head; he is portrayed leaning against an overflowing urn which symbolises his flooded waters (Fig. 4.2). Another painting – the next within the *Ilias Ambrosiana*'s sequence (LIII), and directly paralleling the subject of Philostratus' own imagined tableau (Fig. 4.3) – depicts the same figure with the same attributes, but this time reclining towards the picture's

Figure 4.2 *Line drawing after miniature LII of the* Ilias Ambrosiana *(= Milan, Bibl. Ambros., cod. 1019), probably early sixth century* AD. *Photo: reproduced by kind permission of the Archiv, Institut für Klassische Archäologie und Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich (after R. Bianchi-Bandinelli,* Hellenistic Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad, *Milan, 1955, 80, fig. 88).*

Figure 4.3 *Line drawing after miniature LIII of the* Ilias Ambrosiana *(= Milan, Bibl. Ambros., cod. 1019), probably early sixth century* AD. *Photo: reproduced by kind permission of the Archiv, Institut für Klassische Archäologie und Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich (after R. Bianchi-Bandinelli,* Hellenistic Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad, *Milan, 1955, 80, fig. 89).*

upper right-hand corner, with Hera and Hephaestus standing below (the latter holding a flaming torch in his two hands).[38]

The difficulties that our late antique artist experienced in finding an apposite iconography were paralleled in the late first century BC and early first century AD. Crucially, however, they resulted in wholly different iconographic solutions. On the relevant frieze of the miniature marble *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* (fourth from the top on the right-hand side), the sculptor evidently chose to strip back the poetic narrative to its bare essentials (Figs. 4.4–4.5):[39] although Scamander is named in the opening Greek inscription, as indeed in the miniature epitome inscribed on the tablet's right-hand stele,[40] he is in fact not depicted here at all. What we instead see are three groups of figures (Fig. 4.5): first Achilles slaying Lykaon, then Achilles alongside Poseidon (and probably once also Athena), and finally Achilles' pursuit of the 'Phrygian' Trojans back to the city gates.[41] A related pictorial response can be seen in a tableau from the Iliadic frieze painted in Pompeii's Casa del Criptoportico (Fig. 4.6). The scene – depicted on the first tableau along the south wall of the cryptoporticus' north wing – portrays Achilles and Lykaon in a compositional arrangement similar to the one on the *Tabula Capitolina*.[42] Here, however, the artist has opted for a different presentation of Scamander: the river-god is portrayed (with accompanying Greek inscription: [Σ]ΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ) to the left of the frame as a half-naked, bearded figure, reclining against a rock and grasping a water vessel to his left.[43] It is worth observing how the painting exploits Scamander as

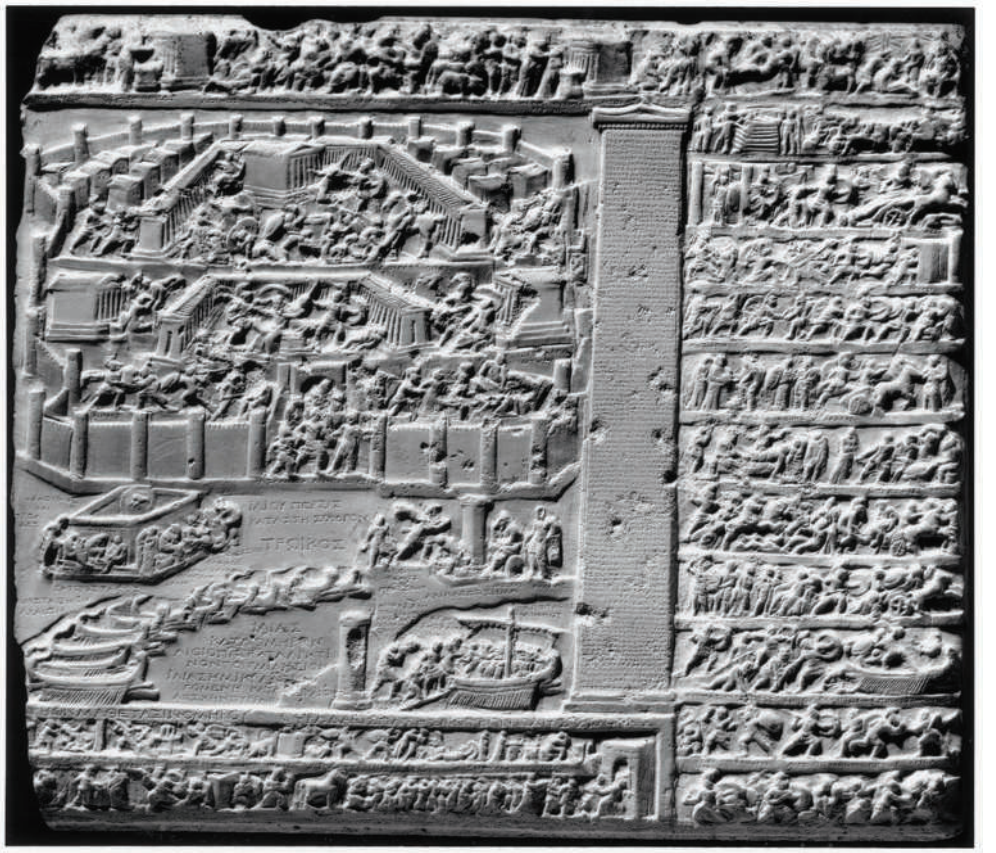

Figure 4.4 *Obverse of the* Tabula Iliaca Capitolina *('Capitoline Iliac tablet', 1A = Rome, Musei Capitolini, Sala delle Colombe: inv. 316), late first century* BC *or early first century* AD. *Photo: M. J. Squire, reproduced by kind permission of the Direzione, Musei Capitolini, Rome.*

Figure 4.5 *Line drawing detail of the frieze relating to* Iliad *XXI on the tablet shown in Figure 4.4, by Feodor Ivanovich. Photo: after O. Jahn,* Griechische Bilderchroniken, *Bonn, 1873, Tafel I.*

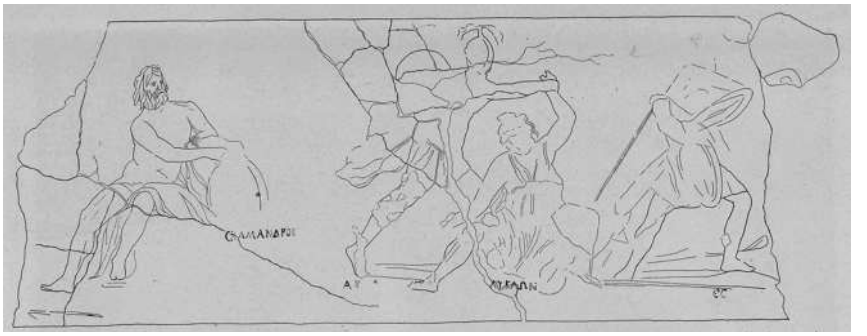

Figure 4.6 *Line drawing of a panel with scenes relating to* Iliad *XXI, from the south wall of the north wing in the eponymous 'covered portico' of the Casa del Criptoportico, Pompeii I.6.2, second half of the first century* BC. *Photo: reproduced by kind permission of the Archiv, Institut für Klassische Archäologie und Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich (after F. Aurigemma, 'Appendice: tre nuovi cicli di figurazioni ispirate all'Iliade in case della Via dell'Abbondanza in Pompei', in V. Spinazzola (ed.),* Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza (anni 1920–23), *Rome, 1953, pp. 867–1008, 941, fig. 950).*

a topographical marker rather than as a narrative agent: he is shown watching the action, but not actively partaking in it. Amid the wall's other panels (or at least those that survive),[44] we find no other scene of Scamander's subsequent encounters with Achilles or Hephaestus: even in this room – which constitutes one of antiquity's grandest surviving extant engagements with Homer's *Iliad* – the poetic moment that Philostratus describes goes without painted depiction.[45]

The apparent lack of visual precedent for Philostratus' opening tableau strikes us as important. Whatever else we make of the passage, the author seems to have been well aware of its surprise pictorial subject: the opening question to the boy (and by extension to the text's readers), 'did you recognise?' (ἔγνως . . . ; I.1.1) is premised, at least in part, upon the very lack of established visual prototype – the *absence* of any graspable picture of the Homeric text.

We will return to the significance of such 'recognition' in the fourth section of this chapter. For now, though, we want to make a related literary critical point. For despite the lack of artistic *depictions* of the Homeric Scamander episode, ancient commentators went out of their way to emphasise its 'spectatorial' qualities, relating it to what they labeled the *enargeia* of Homeric poetry *tout court*.

The quality of poetic *enargeia* – Homer's ability to appeal not only to his audience's ears, but also to their eyes – is something that we have already touched upon in our introduction. The point to emphasise here, however, is that ancient critics singled out the Homeric Scamander episode as *especially* rich in such visual vividness, both as a whole and in terms of its constituent descriptive verses. Within his early-fourth-century

BC analysis *Of Style*, Demetrius begins his discussion of *enargeia* by citing a simile from the Scamander episode (*Il.* XXI.257), using it to demonstrate how vividness 'arises from an exact narration that leaves or cuts out no detail';[46] likewise, much later, in the twelfth century AD, Eustathius notes of the Homeric comparison between the burning Scamander and a spitting cauldron (*Il.* XXI.362–7) how 'ancient authorities also speak here of how much *enargeia* the simile possesses'.[47] Still more explicit is a scholion on *Il.* XXI.325, the verse in which the raging Scamander sets upon Achilles, 'seething with foam and blood and corpses' (μορμύρων ἀφρῷ τε καὶ αἵματι καὶ νεκύεσσι): 'these lines of Homer are unparalleled', the scholiast recounts, 'since they are successful not only by way of their sublime diction, but also through their appeal to inner thought (*ennoia*) – for one can *see* a wave inflated with blood and mixed with foam, as well as the bodies floating on it'.[48] Homer is championed once again not only for his words, but also for his images: the Iliadic Scamander episode showcases the poet's ability to bring his narrative before the eyes of his listening and reading audience.

What, then, does all this mean for our Philostratean tableau? Our suggestion is that Philostratus' decision to open with the Scamander episode is knowingly founded upon a paradox: on the one hand, the Homeric urtext was deemed exemplary of Homeric *enargeia* – the capacity of Homeric poetry to appeal visually to our eyes; on the other hand, this was an episode without established iconographic precedent. For all the literary critical claims of spectatorial visibility, this does not appear to have been an episode that ancient artists regularly attempted to visualise.

3. Allegorical figurations

There is one other – and in fact closely related – aspect of ancient literary responses to the *Iliad*'s Scamander episode that deserves mention here. For among those who read and commented upon the *Iliad* in antiquity, the Scamander episode became the subject of rich and varied allegorical interpretations. As Philostratus reminds us, the *Iliad* sandwiched the Scamander story within a larger narrative about how 'the gods were stirred into warring with one another' (κινοῦνται δὲ οἱ θεοὶ πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλοις, I.1.1) – that is, within the so-called 'battles of the gods', known among ancient critics as the *theomachiai* (stretching between the *Iliad*'s twentieth and twenty-first books). What interested ancient commentators about both the Scamander narrative and its larger 'theomachic' context was the idea that these divine battling forces might be resonant with hidden registers of meaning: again and again, we encounter the suggestion that, working behind Homer's mimetic narrative, there is a symbolic truth or significance.[49]

By the third century AD such allegorical readings had already enjoyed a long history. The earliest philosophical interpretations of the Scamander episode seem to stretch back to at least the sixth century BC: according to a passage of Porphyry's *Homeric Questions*, it was Theagenes of Rhegium, writing c. 525 BC, who first associated the warring forces of the Homeric

account with opposing natural elements.[50] By the fourth century BC, such interpretations had sufficient purchase for Socrates to counter them in the second book of Plato's *Republic*, turning expressly on the question of 'deeper meaning', or *hyponoia*.[51] Whether such stories 'have been composed with deeper meanings or without deeper meanings' (ἐν ὑπονοίαις πεποιημένας οὔτε ἄνευ ὑπονοιῶν), Socrates expounds, the 'battles of the gods such as Homer composed' (θεομαχίας ὅσας Ὅμηρος πεποίηκεν) should not be permitted within the ideal republic: for 'a youth is not able to distinguish something which does have a deeper meaning from something which does not' (ὁ γὰρ νέος οὐχ οἷός τε κρίνειν ὅτι τε ὑπόνοια καὶ ὃ μή, *Rep.* II.378d).[52]

Closer to the time when Philostratus was writing are the respective analyses of Heraclitus' *Homeric Problems* and Pseudo-Plutarch's *On Homer.*[53] According to the text attributed to Plutarch (but most likely written at the end of the second century), the theomachy anticipated an Empedoclean philosophy about the attraction of cosmic elements; the pitching of Hephaestus' fire against Scamander's water works allegorically (ἀλληγορικῶς), revealing how hot and dry elements oppose forces that are cold and wet (*Vit. Hom.* 102).[54] For Heraclitus, probably writing a little earlier in the second century AD, the whole episode is likewise said to be steeped in a deep philosophy (πηλίκης μεστόν . . . φιλοσοφίας, 53.2). For Homer turned to allegory in order to reveal the true forces of nature (58.1–4):

ἄντα δ᾽ ἄρ᾽Ἡφαίστοιο μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης.

ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ποσειδῶνος λόγοις τὸν οὐράνιον ἡμῖν αἰθέρα καὶ τὴν ἀκήρατον ἡλίου φλόγα δηλώσας, νῦν μεταβέβκεν ἐπὶ τὸ θνητὸν πῦρ καὶ τοῦτο ἀνθώπλισε ποταμῷ, τὴν διάφορον ἑκατέρου φύσιν εἰς μάχην παροξύνας. πρότερον μὲν οὖν εἴκοντα τὸν ἥλιον Ποσειδῶνι παρεισάγει, νῦν δὲ τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν ὑπὸ τῆς πυρώδους ἡττωμένην· δυνατώτερον γὰρ τόδε τὸ στοιχεῖον θατέρου. τίς οὖν οὕτω μέμηνεν ὡς θεοὺς μαχομένους ἀλλήλοις παρεισάγειν, Ὁμήρου φυσικῶς ταῦτα δι᾽ ἀλληγορίας θεολογήσαντος;

Against Hephaestus, the great eddying river:

Having shown us, by his account of Apollo and Poseidon, the aether of heaven and the pure fire of the sun, he now turns to mortal fire and makes it take up arms against the river, rousing these two contrary elements to do battle. He has previously presented the sun as giving way to Poseidon; but now he has the liquid substance defeated by the fiery, because this is the more potent element of the two. So who is mad enough to introduce into the story gods fighting one another, when Homer has given us a theology of nature in allegorical form?

The sorts of readings championed by Heraclitus and Pseudo-Plutarch find their culmination in the sixth essay of Proclus' commentary on Plato's *Republic* (this time written after Philostratus, in the early fifth century, but nonetheless drawing on earlier critical traditions).[55] Responding to Socrates' charges against Homer in the *Republic*, Proclus tells how Homer exploits his stories to make the 'mystical concepts concerning the gods invisible to many' (τὰς περὶ θεῶν μυστικὰς ἐννοίας ἀφανεῖς τοῖς πολλοῖς).[56]

Nowhere is this more conspicuous, Proclus continues, than in the Homeric story of the gods battling with one another (a story of *genesis* which demonstrates how things come into, and indeed pass out of, being). The opposition between Scamander and Hephaestus – that is, between water and fire – forms part and parcel of that larger Homeric revelation:[57]

> λοιπὴ δὲ ἡ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ξάνθου τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς τῆς σωματικῆς ὅλης συστάσεως ἐναντίας ἀρχὰς διακοσμεῖ δεόντως, τοῦ μὲν τῆς θερμότητος καὶ τῆς ξηρότητος τὰς δυνάμεις συγκροτοῦντος, τοῦ δὲ τῆς ψυχρότητος καὶ ὑγρότητος. ἐξ ὧν ἡ πᾶσα συμπληροῦται γένεσις.
>
> Finally, the opposition of Hephaestus and the river Xanthos [Scamander] necessarily musters the opposing first principles within the whole composition of bodies, with Hephaestus combining the powers of hotness and dryness and Xanthos those of coolness and wetness. These properties complete the whole *genesis*.

For all the compelling narrative details of Homer's theomachy, the story is again made to disclose a hidden meaning. As the thematic question that opens this section of Proclus' essay puts it, the battles of the gods can be thought to use 'various tropes to bring to light a hidden truth within it' (διάφοροι τρόποι τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπόρρητον ἀληθείαν εἰς φῶς ἄγοντες).[58]

There can be no doubt that Philostratus' rendition of the Homeric Scamander story – at once visualised in the painting, and transformed back into the exegetic interpretation of our guide – reverberates against such allegorical interpretations. Right from the speaker's very first question, the painting's subject is introduced in relation to the elemental forces of 'fire' and 'water' (ὅπως δήποτε ἔζει τὸ πῦρ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, I.1.1). Still more revealingly, the language with which the speaker promises to infer what the painting means (συμβάλωμεν οὖν, ὅ τι νοεῖ, I.1.1) itself alludes to the critical language of 'symbolic' exegesis:[59] Philostratus promises an intellectual mode of understanding, premised on the 'knowledge' that resides in the text (τῆς Ἰλιάδος τὴν γνώμην, I.1.1).[60] When the speaker goes on to say that *everything* can be found in the Homeric text (πάντα ἐκεῖθεν, I.1.2), he likewise alludes to a universalising mode of interpreting the story in relation to all-encompassing cosmic forces: ascribing a broader significance to each and every aspect of the picture, the evocation treats the painting as a sort of enigmatic puzzle for the audience to decrypt and decipher.[61]

Rather than simply 'decode' the scene, however, Philostratus delights in concealing and revealing divergent registers of figurative and literal meaning. What ultimately triumphs here is the speaker's layering of *different* representational truths, mediated in turn within the Homeric story, the purported painting and the interpretative spoken response. Where allegorical readings of the Homeric Scamander episode envisage it as something that reveals a hidden truth behind an occluding verbal narrative, this painting is said not only to picture the Homeric story, but also (at least when filtered through the verbal lens of the speaker's own imaginary interpretation) to visualise a more profound level of significance – one which inheres in the Homeric text, certainly, yet which also exists beyond the

prima facie appearance of the Homeric poem. In all this, Philostratus masterfully merges the project of viewing a literal picture with the intellectual perceptions of allegorical perception. The whole performance of viewing, we might say, is made to oscillate between appearance and truth – a feat that is itself mediated through Philostratus' own verbal representation of the purported visual tableau.

But we might venture still further, remembering in particular Plato's recourse to the theomachy episode and the repudiation of Homeric *hyponoia* (*Rep*. II.378d). For if Philostratus refers to the language of symbolism, bringing to mind Plato's earlier attack on allegorical readings (as well as subsequent philosophical responses to it), his recourse to *Iliad* XXI also responds to the *Republic*'s own model of educating the young. That Plato's educational concerns governed his account of the interpretative possibilities of these Iliadic books was surely not lost on our author, whose opening ekphrasis effectively stages a pedagogic response to Plato as much as a literary response to Homer. Where Plato makes a problem of Homeric *mimēsis*, proceeding later in the *Republic* to articulate antiquity's most famous rejection of mimetic visual art,[62] Philostratus paints a different pedagogical picture, championing the importance of poetic and pictorial *mimēsis* alike. In doing so, the Scamander tableau works in close conjunction with the preceding comments in the *Imagines* proem: on the one hand, the proem prepares the Platonic subtext through its explicit discussion of *mimēsis* in both the first and second paragraphs; on the other, the following three sections of the proem end by framing the text as a pedagogical exercise addressed to a young child (νέος, Praef. 5), with older youths standing by and listening (τὰ μειρακία, Praef. 5), thereby echoing Socrates' own educational theme in the *Republic*. Although neither the proem nor the first description mentions Plato by name,[63] both passages – which together constitute the collective opening suite of the *Imagines* – might be said to deliver a targeted riposte to Platonic thinking.

Philostratus' brilliance lies in the fact that the Platonic position on art, implicitly evoked only to be rejected, is presented through the very symbolic means that Plato has Socrates resist. In a further rebuff, adding insult to metaphorical injury, this whole interrogation of 'knowledge' is mediated through a response to a *painting* – that is, to a mimetic form that encapsulates everything that Plato rejected. All this amounts to a classically erudite Philostratean joke. As always, though, the game also has a more serious edge, defending the place of mimetic art in education and *paideia* at large.

4. Literal and literary seeing

The issue of allegory launches us into larger questions about the nature of 'seeing' the imaginary image of Scamander. For what we think stirred Philostratus to open the *Imagines* with this tableau is precisely the interface between image and imagination – that is, the relationship between painting as physical entity and the perceptions of 'seeing' it in the mind's eye of the beholder. This is what makes the subject so programmatic an introduction to the *Imagines* project: the tableau pitches the resources of literary vividness

against those of the imagined picture, translated back into the words of the speaker who now represents it.

In one sense, of course, readers are bound to try and imagine what Philostratus' painting – no less than the purported gallery in which it finds itself[64] – might have physically looked like. And yet, as Philostratus himself teaches us, each and every attempt to match Homer's words in pictures – no less than to turn pictures back into words – is bound to fail. One thinks here of the spectacular engraving of the Scamander tableau accompanying the 1614 edition of Blaise de Vigenère's *Imagines* edition, translation and commentary (Fig. 4.7).[65] The valiant engravers have taken their lead from the narrative details of Philostratus' description

Figure 4.7 *Engraving of the 'Scamander' tableau (I.1) accompanying the 1614 edition of Blaise de Vigenère's* Images ou Tableaux de platte-peintre. *Photo: M. J. Squire.*

(not least in the background's wonderfully 'oriental'-looking citadel), finding additional inspiration in the Homeric original (observe, for example, Hera's peacocks looking down from the sky, and the chariot-mounted West Wind at the top left). While drawing its inspiration from the tableau of the *Imagines*, the picture nonetheless changes the textual description almost beyond recognition: the visual medium must necessarily depart from the details said to be depicted (as indeed, those said not to be depicted!) within the picture. By translating the Philostratean text of a purported painting (derived from the Homeric text) back into a picture, the seventeenth-century artists have attempted to facilitate the literal 'looking' that the speaker promises. Yet the resulting image simultaneously occludes Philostratus' active dramatisation – and indeed, studied problematisation – of what it means to look in the first place.[66]

Where the illustration accompanying the 1614 de Vigenère edition attempts to turn the text on a picture back into a picture of a text, our suggestion is that Philostratus exploits his literary paradigm to explore precisely the *mismatch* between visual and verbal representational modes. To put the point more strongly, one might say that Philostratus hit upon this textual subject precisely because of the difficulty of translating it from words into pictures (and back again).

So what made the Homeric episode so difficult to visualise? Quite apart from the series of direct speeches and invocations that drive the story (by Scamander, Achilles, Poseidon, Hera, etc.),[67] one painterly challenge lies in Homer's portrayal of Scamander himself. We say 'Scamander *him*self'. Yet it is precisely the ambiguity of Homer's Scamander – between a 'he' and an 'it' – that proves interesting. As we have said, the Homeric river takes on the semblance of a man (ἀνέρι εἰσάμενος, *Iliad* XXI.213), yet all the while remains a 'deep-eddying river' that 'sends forth its voice from the deep eddy' (ποταμὸς βαθύδινης | . . . βαθέης δ' ἐκφθέγξατο δίνης, vv. 212–13). When Homer's Scamander pursues Achilles, he does so in such a way as to combine the anthropomorphic with the topographical understanding, the tidal wave 'rushing upon' the hero 'with a surging flood' (ὃ δ' ἐπέσσυτο οἴδματι θύων, v. 234): as 'great god' (θεὸς μέγας, v. 248), the Homeric Scamander is river and embodied entity at once – albeit one that is also described as both aflame and in the act of speaking (φῆ πυρὶ καιόμενος, ἀνὰ δ' ἔφλυε καλὰ ῥέεθρα, v. 361).

The challenge of finding a concrete visual form for Homer's Scamander – as both river and personification – is reflected in the handful of extant ancient depictions. The two images in the *Ilias Ambrosiana*, for example, get round Scamander's dual identity by way of a twin figuration – both as river, and as river-god (Figs. 4.2–4.3 above). So what happens, then, to Scamander in Philostratus' gallery? Where artists must necessarily rely on concrete visual forms, Philostratus exploits words to capture the ambiguities of the Homeric literary description. The picture, we are told, hits upon just one detail within the story: 'of these events concerning the gods the drawing/writing does not know the rest, but it does tell of the great violence with which Hephaestus fell upon Scamander' (τούτων οὖν τῶν περὶ

τοὺς θεοὺς ἡ γραφὴ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐκ οἶδε, τὸν δὲ Ἥφαιστον ἐμπεσεῖν φησι τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ πολὺν καὶ ἄκρατον, I.1.1). But are we to imagine 'Scamander' as a river or as a personified deity? While the speaker frequently speaks of the 'water' and 'river' (ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, I.1.1; τὰς ὄχθας . . . τοῦ ποταμοῦ, I.1.2; τῷ ὕδατι, I.1.2; ὁ ποταμός, I.1.2, twice), Philostratus' Scamander is also bestowed with a capacity for human emotion and speech: such is the (literal) pathetic fallacy of the picture – or rather its description – that 'the river suffers and is itself/himself beseeching Hephaestus' (καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἀλγεῖ καὶ ἱκετεύει τὸν Ἥφαιστον αὐτός, I.1.2).[68]

This combined form of Scamander as river and personified being is something that Philostratus captures through a typically clever pun: 'the river', readers are told, 'is not painted/described as having locks, on account of them all having been burnt off' (ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε ὁ ποταμὸς γέγραπται κομῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ περικεκαῦσθαι, I.1.2). We will return later to the punning Philostratean language of *graphein* – the knowing metalepsis that collapses the written textuality of Homer's poem (*graphē*) into the pictorial medium of the purported painting (*graphē*).[69] For now, though, it is enough to draw out a related Philostratean wordplay. After all, the Greek word that we have translated as 'locks' (κόμαι), referring to Scamander's hair, also doubles up as a description of the 'foliage' along the Scamandrian river-bank: it simultaneously refers back to the trees that are said 'no longer to be there' (ὡς μηκέτι αὐτῷ δένδρα εἶναι, I.1.2).[70] In the hands of our master exegete, verbal description is made to convey an ambivalence that would seem impossible to render through pictorial means: in keeping with the Homeric urtext, Philostratus' Scamander is depicted *both* as human figure (complete with head of hair) *and* as river (endowed with tree foliage along his banks).[71]

But Scamander's κόμαι turn out to be still more complex than they first appear. In the detail of Scamander's hair-cum-foliage, after all, Philostratus' description characterises the subject in terms of its negative features – not of what *can* be viewed, but rather what can*not*: 'the river is *not* painted/described as having locks/foliage' (ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε ὁ ποταμὸς γέγραπται κομῶν). Immediately after exclaiming that 'everything is from there' in the painting (πάντα ἐκεῖθεν, I.1.2), our guide thematises the image around a series of omissions. So it is, for example, that Hephaestus is not depicted/described as lame,[72] on account of his running, just as Scamander's 'trees are no longer there'. By the same token, the tableau ends by telling how 'the fire's bloom is not Xanthian-brown, or of its usual appearance' (καὶ τὸ ἄνθος τοῦ πυρὸς οὐ ξανθόν οὐδὲ τῇ εἰθισμένῃ ὄψει, I.1.2). Again and again, the present description of the (absent!) painting is centred on details that are poignantly missing: sight derives from not just what we could see, but also (or so the text tells us) what lies beyond the pictorial frame.

This thematic of 'presence' and 'absence' proves fundamental to what the following section will call the 'meta-ekphrastic' qualities of Philostratus' description – its concern with the very limits of visual and verbal mediation. Before proceeding, however, we should not overlook an additional pun in the detail of Scamander's non-Xanthian-brown hair: 'the fire's bloom is

not Xanthian-brown, or of its usual appearance' (καὶ τὸ ἄνθος τοῦ πυρὸς οὐ ξανθόν οὐδὲ τῇ εἰθισμένῃ ὄψει, I.1.2). Quite apart from Philostratus' emphasis on 'sight' (*opsis*) – leaving it ambiguous as to whether this 'customary' sight refers to that of real fire, or rather to the conventions of artistically representing it – this passage figures a revealing joke. The adjective ξανθός of course refers to a colour that is brown or ruddy, and was especially used to describe hair.[73] And yet the author of our text was well aware that the same word could function as an alternative title for Scamander – namely as the river 'Xanthos'.[74]

For those in the know – for those able to see the learned reference behind the opaque description of the invisible picture – there is an insight to be had in this 'non-Xanthian' fire blooming amid Xanthos' waters.[75] The detail also returns us to allegorical modes of interpreting the scene: given that Hephaestian fire is set against Xanthian water, it makes symbolic sense that its flames – for all their evocation as something 'streaming' or 'flowing' (ἐπιρρεῖ, I.1.2) – should *not* be like the watery river Xanthos; that the flames are instead 'like gold and like the sun' (χρυσοειδὲς καὶ ἡλιῶδες, I.1.2) likewise develops a cosmic interpretation of the Homeric scene, by comparing the elemental force of Hephaestus' blaze with a 'fiery' metal on the one hand, and with the ultimate cosmic embodiment of fire on the other. In all this, the (interpretation of the) painting is said to go beyond the qualities of *physical* sight: the very quality of colour does not here champion the mimetic quality by which painting trumps other forms of artistic *mimēsis*,[76] but rather alludes to a realm of verbal significance beyond formal appearances.

5. Meta-ekphrasis

It is at this point, in the fifth and final section of our chapter, that we can begin putting our various perspectives together. The passage does not provide any straightforward description of a painting, we want to suggest, nor does it simply probe how that painting draws on an earlier Homeric text. Rather, Philostratus acts out the very problem of reading Homeric poetry through pictures, no less than of seeing pictures through the prismatic lens of Homer. We are dealing not just with an ekphrasis but also, as it were, with a 'meta-ekphrasis' – a passage that represents and plays upon the conceits of ekphrastic representation itself.

This is where the connection with Anthony's work comes into play (Snodgrass 1998). As we have said, *Homer and the Artists* set out to delineate (and in turn disprove) the Homeric resonances that have been seen in the earliest surviving figurative images of ancient Greek art. Yet what Philostratus teaches us is that seeing – or indeed not seeing – an image in Homeric terms must ultimately depend upon the perspective of the viewer.[77] In this sense, Philostratus' opening ekphrasis stages the fundamental problematic of the place of subjectivity – what Ernst Gombrich has called 'the beholder's share'[78] – within the project of both looking at and speaking for pictures.

What seems to motivate Philostratus' description is precisely the intellectual *question* of approaching text and picture each through the lens of the other. As ever in the *Imagines*, we do not see the picture itself: we have only the text to go on, which in turn represents the boy engaged in an act of seeing as focalised through the represented speech of our master narrator. For all the instructions to look – and for all the demonstrative nouns and pronouns (the frequently repeated 'thises' and 'thats', each one leaving its precise referent decidedly ambiguous) – the question of what the picture 'knows' (ἡ γραφή . . . οἶδε, I.1.1) rests on what the boy does or does not 'recognise' and 'see' within the painting (ἔγνως, I.1.1; οὐ πώποτε ἔγνωκας, I.1.1; οἶσθα, I.1.1; ὅρα δή, I.1.2).[79] In that connection, it is worth re-reading the opening sentences in order to observe just how many words of 'recognising', 'knowing' and 'perceiving' it contains (I.1.1):

> Did you recognise [ἔγνως], my boy, that these things [ταῦτα, i.e. the subject of the picture/description] are from Homer, or have you in fact not yet recognised it [οὐ πώποτε ἔγνωκας] . . . ? Let us infer [συμβάλωμεν] what the picture intimates [ὅ τι νοεῖ] . . . You know [οἶσθα], I suppose, the judgement/knowledge [τὴν γνώμην] of the *Iliad* . . . The picture doesn't know [ἡ γραφή . . . οὐκ οἶδε] . . .

The quantity and range of knowledge-words are both striking and important:[80] 'knowing' is ascribed to the painting, to the *Iliad* and its Homeric author, to the interpreter, and to the boy himself (the addressed subject of the text's own educating prose). Arguably, the role of the speaker – presented in the proem as one who can teach interpretation – is as the imparter of *shared* knowledge. Similarly, the role of the audience – both the boy and the youths within the text, and the extra-textual readers 'viewing' this description in turn – is framed in terms of learning.[81] In Philostratus' hands, knowledge of the picture comes from aspects that are both internal and external to Homer's text: Philostratus' intermedial teaching arises from the very interface between visual form and the immaterial meanings imported into it. Despite the emphasis on viewing, knowledge is shown to be the product of things that both can and cannot be seen.

For Philostratus, what ultimately matters in all this is the competing and collaborating resources of words and images: his playful interest lies in how words (fail to) mediate the creative processes of seeing, dramatised within the frame of a purported tableau whose own theme lies in mediating text through pictures.[82] Just as allegorical interpretations of the Homeric passage rest upon reading the relevant books against a wider philosophical knowledge of cosmic nature, the question of 'knowing' the painting is quickly made to turn upon extra-pictorial sorts of understanding. A variety of issues ensue, mirroring the question with which the speaker himself begins. Can one grasp this picture in its own right or must one know (indeed privilege) an external text?[83] Is the boy's immersion in the picture – his wonder (θαῦμα) before it – a virtue that inheres in the act of looking, or is it potentially wayward (since one might then forget the knowledge

needed for interpretation)?[84] Likewise – to shift from the viewer to the picture, as Philostratus does – do the painting's own meaning and knowledge (ὅ τι νοεῖ . . . ; ἡ γραφή . . . οἶδε) refer solely to what exists within the pictorial frame, or do they point beyond it, to an external knowledge of a larger mythical narrative and its textual formulation in Homer? Indeed, does 'what the *graphē* knows' itself relate to a deeper allegorical knowledge – a world in which what things *seem* to indicate proves misleading, referring instead to something else by symbolic means?

The analysis that follows playfully fuses the picture's 'internal' details with the 'external' narrative framework of Homer. As such, Philostratus' careful pitching of pictorial (or is it verbal?) form against meaning parallels a tension between the original Homeric poem and the present purported picture of it. It is a pitching that ripples and recedes from present (though absent) visual frame to the verbal medium of the description before us. The tension between text and picture *within* the painting applies equally to the verbal evocation that now represents it: as an object for reading, after all, this *eikōn* now exists in a verbal realm that stands poignantly beyond the visual frame of the purported picture.

Philostratus' game of 'seeing' and 'not seeing' 'Homer' is masterfully acted out through the temporal progression of viewing the image described. As the speaker is at pains to emphasise, the poet is not physically there within the painting, whether as overt reference, as text or indeed as personified presence: he must be supplied by the viewer. At the same time, the tableau that is evoked itself slips and slides between the twin poles of the 'Homeric' and the 'non-Homeric': from its opening question through to its final exhortation, the description moves from the promise of Homeric presence ('these things being of Homer', ταῦτα Ὁμήρου ὄντα, I.1.1) through to a statement of Homeric absence ('these things [are] no longer of Homer', ταῦτα οὐκέτι Ὁμήρου, I.1.2). In formal terms, the promise of interpreting meaning – of inferring what the tableau intellectually conveys (συμβάλωμεν οὖν, ὅ τι νοεῖ, I.1.1) – is structured around a dual imperative: first the boy must look away, in order thereby to see the tableau's literary derivation (σὺ δὲ ἀπόβλεψον αὐτῶν, ὅσον ἐκεῖνα ἰδεῖν, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἡ γραφή, I.1.1);[85] then, at the beginning of the second paragraph, he is told to look back again, as the speaker embarks upon a more detailed analysis of the purported visual details (ὅρα δὴ πάλιν, I.1.2).[86]

It is the active *questions* about looking, perceiving and knowing that make the Scamander tableau so programmatic. The act of seeing, and the entire interpretative apparatus that depends on it – that is, the project of art history, one might say – is made to turn on the singular 'you' (σύ), which characterises the boy addressed, or perhaps hectored, by rhetorical questions (ἔγνως . . . ἔγνωκας;) and imperative injunctions (ἀπόβλεψον . . . ὅρα δή). Is it the boy who sees, or the interpreter who imposes his seeing upon him? In the context of the literary framing of the *Imagines*, and in particular the last section of its proem, one might also ask about the relationship between the boy who is addressed (παῖς, Praef. 5; ὦ παῖ, I.1.1) and the crowd of young men (τὰ μειράκια, Praef. 4, 5) who form the text's

imagined internal audience: the viewing performed in this single description brings together the single 'you' of the addressee with the plural 'you' (ὑμεῖς) mentioned at the end of the proem (Praef. 5). It proves impossible to disentangle this imagined viewing community, which now extends to encompass the text's own reading audience(s). The speech before the Scamander picture repeatedly addresses the boy either in the second person singular or else in the imperative; in the proem immediately preceding this passage, moreover, the speaker had referred to his own voice in the singular (ἐγώ, Praef. 5). Yet the precise constituents of the addressed 'you' and the addressing 'I' prove unstable. When the interpreter promises, immediately after his opening question, that 'we infer what it intimates' (συμβάλωμεν οὖν, ὅ τι νοεῖ, I.1.1), the first-person plural (συμβάλωμεν) is left ambiguous. Is this the collective group of all those present (speaker, boy and young men)? Is it a collusion of speaker and boy? Is it the magisterial plural of the speaker's own superior self?[87] Indeed, does it now extend to encompass the reading audience too? Although the description raises fundamental questions about the relative authority of art-historical interpretation – about its collective or perhaps whimsically subjective orientation – it does not resolve them. Nor, frankly, have these questions been resolved in the long history of writing about images in the centuries since Philostratus.

What makes Philostratus' performance of viewing all the more complex is the reader's own remove from the picture evoked. On the one hand, we have noted that the speaker first tells the boy to look away from the picture (ἀπόβλεψον) – to shut the eyes, as it were, while he talks us through the Homeric story;[88] only later, at the beginning of the second paragraph, does he return to close looking, instructing the boy now to look back again (ὅρα δὴ πάλιν). On the other hand, we have also said that, unlike the imagined boy in the gallery, readers cannot look, or indeed look away: in contrast to the boy, who is imagined as having the picture before him but not the Homeric text, we rely on Philostratus' written words to summon up any impression of this tableau.

But no sooner does Philostratus establish this clear-cut distinction between 'looking away' and 'looking' than he proceeds to problematise it: within this studied description of a picture of a poem, words (are said to) segue into images, and images (are said to) segue into words. Notice, for example, the preliminary instruction not to *read* Homer in the first paragraph, but rather to *look* at the text from which the picture comes (ὅσον ἐκεῖνα ἰδεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν ἡ γραφή);[89] similarly, in the same paragraph, we find the image of a picture that is itself said to speak – it *tells*, rather than depicts, how Hephaestus fell upon Scamander (ἡ γραφὴ . . . τὸν δὲ Ἥφαιστον ἐμπεσεῖν φησι τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ πολὺν καὶ ἄκρατον). The second paragraph goes still further. The subject here purports to be the painting, not the Iliadic poem. And yet the allusive texture of the speaker's words both paraphrases and directly alludes to the Homeric prototext from which the picture derives:[90] at the very moment when Homer is said *not* to be in the picture, the speaker floods his ekphrasis with a string of suggestive phrases that bring to mind the very Homeric text said to be absent.

All this exemplifies what we mean by 'meta-ekphrasis' – the way in which the passage encapsulates the thematic of seeing through reading and reading through seeing. Nowhere is the point more resonant than in Philostratus' characteristic wordplay on the Greek verb *graphein* and its cognates, which recur three times in this description (ἡ γραφή, I.1.1; ἡ γραφή, I.1.1; γέγραπται, I.1.2). In Greek, the verb *graphein* – like its associated noun *graphē* – refers simultaneously to both drawing and writing;[91] each time the *Imagines* uses the word – and there are some 130 occasions in total – Philostratus delights in the semantic ambiguity. The pun proves particularly germane to the meta-ekphrastic games of this opening tableau: questions about the painted *graphē* and its derivation from the poetic *graphē* of the Homeric prototype recede into questions about the painterly derivation of the present text. When the speaker talks about the river 'drawn/written' without its foliage/hair (ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε ὁ ποταμὸς γέγραπται κομῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ περικεκαῦσθαι, I.1.2), the detail refers both to the poetic frame of Homer's text and to its purported pictorial mediation, as itself now 'written' (γέγραπται) by Philostratus after the purported speech of our guide. If the *graphē* before us spins back and forth through multiple replications of writing and drawing, Philostratus' art lies in the promise of reconciling them all within the graphic strokes of his tableau.

Conclusion: Anthony Snodgrass among the ekphrasists

How, then, to tie everything together? Anthony would no doubt be the first to point out that the length of our analysis is inversely proportional to that of the Greek text on which it is based. But three overriding conclusions nonetheless stand out. First, we hope to have shown just how rich and provocative this passage proves for thinking about issues of representation, description and interpretative response – not least when considering the 'Homeric' resonances of images. At the same time, second, we do not think the *Imagines* gives any straightforward answers to the questions it poses: where art history theorises, Philostratus acts out, hiding behind the dramatic scenario that he 'paints'. Our third conclusion relates to Philostratus' rationale of opening with this Scamander tableau immediately after his proem: Philostratus' decision to launch the *Imagines* with this passage was in no way innocent or coincidental; rather, the tableau provides a programmatic introduction to the (meta-)ekphrastic thematics of the text as a whole.

But perhaps we should end by giving the last word to Anthony himself. Concluding his own sharp-sighted analysis of Pausanias' description of the 'Chest of Cypselus', Anthony argues that Pausanias was 'one of us': 'in his bent for the *interpretatio Homerica*', as in numerous other aspects, 'Pausanias emerges as the true father of Classical art history' (Snodgrass 2001: 137).

Something similar might be said of the Elder Philostratus. Like Anthony, the learned exegete of the *Imagines* carefully sets image against text in his effort to determine significance ('what it means', ὅ τι νοεῖ, I.1.1): the details of the picture are pitched against the narrative specifics of the

poem – both aspects that can be seen (the 'lofty citadel', the 'great plain', the 'great fire', etc.), and those that cannot (trees, locks/foliage, the lame Hephaestus, etc.). The analogy with Anthony's *Homer and the Artists* certainly underscores some differences in outlook and approach. To our eyes, though, it seems a fitting tribute to paint our honorand in distinguished Philostratean guise.

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Notes

1. Anthony's interest in the (non-)'Homeric' origins of Greek figurative art has been a leitmotif throughout his long and distinguished career: cf. e.g. Snodgrass 1979; 1980a: esp. 70–8; 1980b: esp. 52–3; 1982; 1987: 132–69; 1997; 2001.
2. A masterful summary can be found in Bowie 2009. The bibliography is growing exponentially: two of the most important monographs are Anderson 1986 and Billault 2000; useful general accounts include Flinterman 1995: esp. 5–51 and Swain 1996: 380–400; cf. also Miles forthcoming. On the identity of the Elder Philostratus, and his familial relations to other authors of the same name (above all, the 'Younger Philostratus'), see most recently Primavesi and Giuliani 2012: esp. 27–36 and Bachmann 2015: 14–20 (both with detailed review of bibliography).
3. On Philostratus' style, at least in relation to the *Imagines*, see Schönberger and Kalinka 1968: 57–61 and Webb 1992: esp. 11–18.
4. On the diversity and chronology of the corpus, as well as issues of attribution, see Bowie 2009: 28–32, along with Elsner 2009.
5. In what follows, we cite the Teubner edition of the *Imagines* (Benndorf and Schenkel 1893); all translations are our own unless otherwise indicated. On the proem, cf. below, pp. 63, 72, 78–9.

6. On ancient ekphrasis, see below, n. 22; cf. Webb 2009 (discussing Philostratus' *Imagines* at pp. 187–90), along with the various essays on 'l'image sophistique' in Costantini et al. 2006; also useful is Alexandre 2011. For the argument that the Elder Philostratus' *Imagines* itself shifted ancient definitions of ekphrasis, see Elsner 2002: esp. 13–15: the Younger Philostratus, who models his own *Imagines* after that of his purported grandfather, explicitly labels that paradigmatic work 'ekphrasis' (Phil. Min. *Imag.* Praef. 2: 'a certain ekphrasis of works of painting [*graphikē*]', τις γραφικῆς ἔργων ἔκφρασις); much later – probably in the ninth century – John of Sardis also adduced the Elder Philostratus' *Imagines* as an ekphrastic exemplar (see Rabe 1928: 215).
7. So much so, in fact, that one late nineteenth-century scholar claimed that the *Imagines* single-handedly initiated a new genre of 'art criticism' in antiquity: see Bertrand 1881: esp. 53–4 ('Mais il eut un jour une pensée neuve, et ce jour-là créa un genre qui lui survécut et suscita des imitateurs: il créa la critique d'art'); cf. Lissarrague 1995: 81–2.
8. Cf. Braginskaya 1985: 26–7: 'Im Alterum wurde dieses Buch, wie wir wissen, von Libanios und Menander, Prokopios von Gaza und Photios, Eustathios und Michael Psellos, von den namenlosen Autoren der Scholien, den antiken Rhetoren und den byzantinischen Philologen gelesen' (p. 26). There are two art-historically oriented commentaries on the works of the Younger Philostratus and Callistratus, each providing some initial guides to bibliography: Ghedini et al. 2004; Bäbler and Nesselrath 2006. One might also compare the numerous evocations of both paintings and sculptures amid the thirty extant exercises in 'ekphrasis' attributed to Libanius of Antioch in the fourth century (see Gibson 2008: 427–507, along with Hebert 1983 for an art-historical commentary; cf. Webb 2009: 61–2 on the relationship with other *Progymnasmata*).
9. On the transmission and Renaissance editions, see Schönberger and Kalinka 1968: 71–2, along with the concise overview of manuscript traditions in Bachmann 2015: 21–8. For Blaise de Vigenère's edition, see Graziani 1995 (providing Blaise de Vigenère's translation and commentary on the 'Scamander' tableau at 1.45–57); cf. also Graziani 1990 and Crescenzo 1999. More generally on the reception of Philostratus' text, see Schönberger and Kalinka 1968: 61–70; Braginskaya 1985; Webb 1992: esp. 105–41; Graziani 1995: esp. 1.xxvii–xxxviii; Boeder 1996: 140–4; and Ballestra-Puech et al. 2010.
10. For an overview of these debates, see Squire 2013a: 105, along with n. 64 below.
11. One might compare countless other studies – among them Müller 1913; Bulas 1929; Touchefeu-Meynier 1968; and Ahlberg-Cornell 1992.
12. Cf. Snodgrass 1998: ix: 'The innumerable surviving portrayals of legendary scenes in the art of early Greece, thousands of which undoubtedly relate to the saga of the Trojan War and its aftermath, were in fact seldom if ever inspired by the Homeric poems.' Although the volumes go unmentioned in Snodgrass' book, one might contrast his overarching argument with the literature-centred approaches of scholars like T. B. L. Webster: cf. Webster 1958; 1959.
13. See Snodgrass 1998: 35–6. As Snodgrass subsequently concludes, 'we have failed to detect, in the art of the eighth century, a single clear and incontrovertible reflection of the impact of Homer's poems' (pp. 38–9). On this particular *oinochoe* (Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek: inv. 8696), see Giuliani 2003: 73–5 (= Giuliani 2013: 49–52) and most recently Hurwit 2011 (with bibliography on the *interpretatio Homerica* at p. 2, n.6). As Hurwit concludes, the question of 'Homeric' vision here must ultimately depend not on the image, but on the supplementations of the viewer: 'what would a late eighth-century Athenian aristocrat . . . have seen in the

image on the neck, a shipwreck in a sea that in the formulaic language of the oral tradition was putatively as dark as the wine poured from the jug itself?' (Hurwit 2011: 16).

14. For Snodgrass' own programmatic call for Classical archaeology to be *both* an archaeological and an art-historical field, see especially Snodgrass 1987. For a review of some of the residual disciplinary tensions, see e. g. Neer 2010: esp. 6–11 and Squire 2012.
15. For an overview of the debate (with further bibliography), see Squire 2009: 122–39, esp. 123–6; cf. also Kannicht 1982; Lowenstam 1997; Langdon 2008: esp. 1–18; Morgan 2010: esp. 65–70. On Snodgrass' method, see the important review in Giuliani 2001, along with Giuliani 2003: 39–114 (= Giuliani 2013: 19–88).
16. See in particular Zeitlin 2001: esp. 218–33. On the ancient reception of Homer's own imagined image, see also Nigel Spivey's contribution to this volume.
17. See Snodgrass 1998: 109–16, 140, 155, 163, 167; 2001. 'While much of Snodgrass' book argues against the more recent obsession with finding Homeric inspiration behind visual images', as Zahra Newby has noted of Pausanias' description, 'this particular example suggests that it was a tendency shared by Roman viewers, as embodied here by Pausanias and his guides' (Newby 2009: 330–1).
18. For the pun inherent in the verb *graphein*, cf. below, p. 80; cf. Squire 2011: esp. 337–41 (in the context of ancient critical responses to the Homeric 'shield of Achilles'). One might also compare the tradition reflected in Cicero's assessment that, when it comes to Homer, 'we view his work not as poetry, but as picture' (*at eius picturam non poësim uidemus*: *Tusc.* V.114).
19. On Dio Chrysostom's twelfth *Oration*, see e.g. Russell 1992: 197–211; Betz 2004; Platt 2009: esp. 149–54.
20. As Snodgrass 1998: 167 describes the visual culture of the post-Hellenistic age, '"Homeric art" was now an expression that had acquired a real meaning' (cf. Snodgrass 2001: 134–5). On the 'Iliac tablets', see Squire 2011, as well as below, pp. 66–8; for the tablets' literary-artistic games with narrative order (and a comparison with the extant cycle of wall paintings in the *oecus* of the Casa di Octavius Quartio, Pompeii II.2), cf. Squire 2014: esp. 374–86.
21. For discussion, see Rispoli 1984; Meijering 1987: esp. 29–52; Manieri 1998: esp. 179–92; Nünlist 2009: 153–5, 194–8; and Sheppard 2014; cf. Lausberg 1998: 359–66, nos. 810–19 (on *euidentia*); Hirsch-Luipold 2002; and Squire 2011: esp. 337–41 (on [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 216). More generally on the trope of literary *enargeia*, cf. Zanker 1981; Manieri 1998; Otto 2009; Webb 2009: 87–106; 2016; and Sheppard 2014: 19–46.
22. As one repeated definition puts it, ekphrasis was understood as 'a descriptive speech which vividly [*enargōs*] brings the thing shown before the eyes' (ἔκφρασίς ἐστι λόγος περιηγηματικὸς ἐναργῶς ὑπ' ὄψιν ἄγων τὸ δηλούμενον: Theon, *Prog.* 118.7 = Patillon and Bolognesi 1997: 66); it is 'an interpretation that almost brings about seeing through hearing' (τὴν ἑρμηνείαν διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς σχεδὸν τὴν ὄψιν μηχανᾶσθαι: Hermogenes, *Prog.* 10.48 = Rabe 1913: 23), so that the elements of ekphrasis 'bring the subjects of the speech before our eyes and almost make speakers into spectators' (ὑπ' ὄψιν ἡμῖν ἄγοντα ταῦτα, περὶ ὧν εἰσιν οἱ λόγοι, καὶ μόνον οὐ θεατὰς εἶναι παρασκευάζοντα: Nikolaus, *Prog.* = Felten 1913: 70). The most insightful recent discussion of ancient ekphrasis is Webb 2009 (complete with appendix of the most important passages on pp. 197–211); for an attempt to situate the *Progymnasmata*'s comments against broader literary-critical traditions, see Squire 2015b (with overview of the extensive secondary literature).

23. Σ bT ad *Il.* VI. 467 (= Erbse 1969–88: 2.210): ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔπη οὕτως ἐστὶν ἐναργείας μεστά, ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἀκούεται τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁρᾶται.
24. There is now a substantial literature on this first 'Scamander' ekphrasis. The most stimulating, in our opinion, is Boeder 1996: 149–53. Readers are referred to the following additional discussions in particular: Schönberger and Kalinka 1968: 273–5; Blanchard 1978: esp. 239–44; Elsner 1995: 29–30; Shaffer 1998: 313–14; Leach 2000: esp. 246–7; Rouveret 2006: esp. 69–70; Webb 2006: 118, 124–5; 2013: 23–4; 2015: 212–13; Newby 2009: 326–8; Dubel 2010: 31–5; 2013: 9–10; Marty 2010: 39–46, 54–6; Baumann 2011: 22–7, 31–5; Squire 2013a: 108–10.
25. Our text here departs from the ἔζη printed by Benndorf and Schenkel 1893: 5: see below, n. 86.
26. On the contested meaning of the verb ἀπόβλεψον, see below, n. 85.
27. On the proem, see most recently Primavesi and Giuliani 2012 and Bachmann 2015: 28–37, both drawing attention to the deliberate layering of imagined audience – which encompasses on the one hand the child who is being addressed (said to be interested in the *paintings*), and on the other the older youths (said to be interested in the *rhetoric* of response). Earlier important discussions include Michel 1974, Maffei 1991 and Boeder 1996: 145–9.
28. On the epideictic game here, see Cassin 1995: esp. 502–6, esp. 504.
29. As Boeder 1996: 149 puts it, 'Der Rückgriff auf Homer an dieser Stelle ist ein deutlicher Verweis auf die literarische Tradition, in der sich die "Eikones" bewegen.' More generally on Homer's reception in the Second Sophistic, see e.g. Zeitlin 2001 and Kim 2010; for another Philostratean discussion of the Scamander episode, see also *Her.* 48.11–14.
30. On the ancient figuring of Homer as Ocean, see Williams 1978: 98–9. Appropriately, a slightly earlier skit in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods* retells the Homeric story from the dramatised perspective of a conversation between Scamander and the Sea (*Dial. Mar.* 11).
31. Homer is mentioned at I.3.1 and II.8.6 (where his birth is foretold by the Fates). He is explicitly cited as a reference in I.8.1, I.26.1, II.2.1 (where the Scamander episode is mentioned, referring back to I.1.1, and thereby re-enacting the structural opening of the first book after II.1 has knowingly played upon the tropes of the preface), II.7.1–2, II.8.1, II.8.6, II.28.1, II.33.2, II.34.1; at II.7, Homer sets the scene for the subject of the picture, from which the painter again duly departs (the games – and the puns on *graphein* – compare closely with those of I.1.1: 'now such are the writings/pictures of Homer, but the drama of the painter is as follows', αὗται μὲν οὖν Ὁμήρου γραφαί, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ζωγράφου δρᾶμα, II.7.2). Most allusions to Homer, however, go without explicit mention (cf. e.g. Squire 2009: 339–51, 419–23 on II.18 and I.31 respectively). Philostratus' varied recourse to Homer is the subject of a stimulating article published while this book was in production (Webb 2015).
32. For the ring-composition of the *Imagines*, see Elsner 2000: esp. 253–62, with discussion of I.1 at 258–9.
33. On the significance of the title here, see Marty 2010: esp. 39–41: 'Le lecteur du texte du Philostrate dispose du titre "Scamandre", comme le visiteur, au musée, dispose du cartel, du cartouche explicitif ou "titulus". Le nomtitre est la légende de l'image, dans deux sense du mot "légende"' (p. 40).
34. Ancient commentators likewise drew attention to Scamander's proleptic anticipation of the fall of Troy – an episode that lies, of course, beyond the poem's own narrative frame. 'The poet anticipates the story's end at the right time', as

one scholiast puts it, 'because Homer's account will not proceed as far as these things' (Σ bT ad *Il.* XXI.376: ἀναφωνεῖ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας εὐκαίρως ὁ ποιητής· οὐ γὰρ προκόψει μέχρι τούτων τὸ σύγγραμμα τῷ Ὁμήρῳ = Erbse 1969–88: 5.215); for parallels, cf. Nünlist 2009: 34–45.

35. Significantly, Philostratus will later refer twice more to Scamander as an abbreviated emblem for the whole Troy story (while also referring to the river by its alternative name, 'Xanthos': see below, n. 74). In II.2.1, he begins a tableau on the 'education of Achilles' with a summary of the Trojan War that explicitly mentions how the hero will redden the Scamander's waters with blood (thus referring back to his own first ekphrasis: καὶ ἐρυθραίνων τὸ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου ὕδωρ). Likewise, at II.10.4, Agamemnon's death at the hands of Clytaemnestra is poignantly contrasted with a warlike death 'on the plains of Troy or at the banks of some Scamander' (οὐκ ἐν πεδίοις Τρωικοῖς οὐδὲ ἐπὶ Σκαμάνδρου τινὸς ἠιόσιν). After opening the work with the Scamander episode, and using it as an anchor for the entire *Iliad*, these subsequent references refer not only to the external Homeric text, but also internally to our cumulative image of the purported picture-gallery.
36. Cf. e.g. Elsner 2000; Giuliani 2006; Squire 2009: 297–428. Among numerous other examples, one might cite I.24.2, in which the painted posture of a discus-thrower is clearly modelled after that of Myron's *Diskobolos* (cf. Harris 1961).
37. On the significance of this detail, see Primavesi and Giuliani 2012: 62–4: 'Der Autor legitimiert sich durch einen knappen Hinweis auf seine bei einem bedeutenden Meister absolvierten Lehrjahre.' More might be added: the proem tells how Aristodemus paints with the σοφία of Eumelus (*Imag.* Praef. 3), suggesting a model of sophistic influence from one painter to the next that parallels the educational enterprise of the *Imagines* (as itself implied by the frame of the proem, in which the boy and youths learn from the speaker). This model of education by means of the learning of σοφία is related to the larger portrait of the Second Sophistic in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*, in which the process of *paideia* as a transmission of σοφία from sophist to sophist emerges as central theme.
38. For discussion of the iconography, which plays upon a standard river-god type, see Vollkommer 1994 (citing the Philostratean passage at p. 789, no. p. 12, and discussing the two *Ilias Ambrosiana* images at p. 789, nos. 11 and 13); cf. Bulas 1929: 135; Ostrowski 1991: 41; and Klementa 1993: 117–18. The most detailed analysis of the *Ilias Ambrosiana* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana: cod. 1019) is Bianchi-Bandinelli 1955, discussing the iconography of these two miniatures at pp. 80–1 (with figs. 89 and 90), and comparing the *Imagines* passage at p. 121. Although there have been recent calls to revise the thesis championed by Kurt Weitzmann – namely, that objects like the *Ilias Ambrosiana* stem from an Alexandrian tradition of juxtaposing images and texts on Hellenistic papyrus-roll editions of narrative poetic texts (cf. e.g. Chaniotis 2010: esp. 268–73, with reference to Weitzmann 1947 and 1959) – we see the rise of such 'illustrative' manuscripts as a specific development of late antique art, associated with the development of the codex form in particular: cf. Squire 2011: 129–39.
39. = Rome, Musei Capitolini, Sala delle Colombe: inv. 316 (*Tabula Iliaca* 1A). For a brief introduction, see Squire 2011: 387–90, indexing various interpretative discussions; the tablet dates to the late first century BC or early first century AD (Squire 2011: 58–61).

40. Lines 88–93 of the inscribed stele text (= *IG* 14.1284) state that, after pursuing Asteropaeus to the Scamander and killing him (Ἀχι[λλ]εὺς δὲ εἰ[ς] τὸν Σκάμανδρον καταδιώξας Ἀστεροπαῖον ἀποκτείνει), 'Achilles escapes the danger in the river (Ἀχ[ι]λλεὺς δὲ τὸν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ διαφυγὼ[ν] [κί]νδυ[νο]ν). For an English translation (and revised Greek text), see now Petrain 2014: 188–92.
41. See Sadurska 1964: 27; Maras 1999: 46–7; Valenzuela Montenegro 2004: 77–80; and Petrain 2014: 196. Despite the 'Scamander' inscription, the subject of the first group clearly pertains to Achilles' encounter with Lykaon, as confirmed by the iconographic parallel with the same episode in the Casa del Criptoportico (see below, n. 43; for the mistaken association with Scamander, see e.g. Jahn 1873: 23; Mancuso 1909: 685). The artist has decided to name 'Scamander' by way of inscription, in other words, but actively withholds from figuring him by pictorial means. The decision, we would suggest, does not amount to artistic 'error' (cf. e.g. Valenzuela Montenegro 2004: 78: 'Meiner Ansicht nach ist dem Künstler, der die Inschriften setze, hier ein Fehler unterlaufen, der Rückschlüsse auf das Vorbild zulässt, nach dem gearbeitet wurde', with response in Petrain 2014: 196, n. 19). Rather, the artist has realised the pictorial difficulties to which Philostratus would later give voice, devising his own pragmatic solution; likewise, the lack of established iconographic precedent explains why the subsequent right-hand section of the relief omits any reference to Achilles' *contretemps* with Scamander (as indeed to the quarrelling of the gods). For the (uninscribed) presence of Athena besides Poseidon in the frieze's second group, see Sadurska 1964: 27; Maras 1999: 47; Valenzueala Montenegro 2004: 79.
42. For the iconographic similarity, see Valenzuela Montenegro 2004: 78. We omit here comparative reference to the *Iliad* XXI scene on the *Tabula Iliaca* in New York (*Tabula Iliaca* 2NY = New York, Metropolitan Museum: inv. 24.97.11): despite the ingenious attempts to interpret the imagery in Petrain 2014: 206–7, the scene is too damaged to allow for anything more than speculation (cf. Sadurska 1964: 38; Valenzuela Montenegro 2004: 188).
43. For the scene in the eponymous room of the Casa del Criptoportico, Pompeii I.6.2, see Aurigemma 1953: 938–40 (with figs. 949–51). The decoration of the cryptoporticus most likely dates to c. 30 BC.
44. One other fragmentary inscription does preserve the label 'Achilles' above that of 'Xanthos', but this has been interpreted – perhaps wrongly – as a reference to Achilles' mythical horse of the same name: cf. Aurigemma 1953: 941–3 (with fig. 953).
45. The episode also goes without visualisation in the *oecus* frieze of the Casa di Octavius Quartio: for an introduction to the frieze (and other Hellenistic and Roman 'circular' depictions of the 'Epic Cycle') see Squire 2015a: esp. 497–509, 532–7. There is one additional possible parallel on a Hellenistic 'Homeric cup' in Berlin (Sinn 1979: 78, no. MB7, with Abb. 3.2 = Berlin, Staatliche Museen: inv. 30535): although one of the inscriptions and scenes appear to suggest 'Scamander' (shown seated on the river-bank? Cf. Sinn 1979: 79–80, no. MB 8, with Abb. 3.3), the precise subject is far from clear (cf. also Bulas 1929: 118–19).
46. Demetr. *Eloc.* 4.209: πρῶτον δὲ περὶ ἐναργείας· γίνεται δ᾽ ἡ ἐνάργεια πρῶτα μὲν ἐξ ἀκριβολογίας καὶ τοῦ παραλείπειν μηδὲν μηδ᾽ ἐκτέμνειν, οἷον "ὡς δ᾽ ὅτ᾽ ἀνὴρ ὀχετηγὸς" καὶ πᾶσα αὕτη ἡ παραβολή· τὸ γὰρ ἐναργὲς ἔχει ἐκ τοῦ πάντα εἰρῆσθαι τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ μὴ παραλελεῖφθαι μηδέν; for discussion, cf. Manieri 1998: 130–7.

47. Eustath. ad *Il.* XXI.362–4 (= van der Valk 1971–87: 4.520): ἐνταῦθα δέ φασιν οἱ παλαιοὶ καὶ ὡς πολλὴν ἐνάργειαν ἡ παραβολὴ ἔχει. Cf. Σ bT ad *Il.* XXI.3 (= Erbse 1969–88: 5.123) on the 'most wondrous impression' that Homer produces (θαυμαστήν τινα τὴν φαντασίαν ὑποτίθεται) in his image of Achilles single-handedly driving away the Trojans at the beginning of the book, forcing some back across the plain, and others into the river (with discussion in Meijering 1987: 69 and Manieri 1998: 79–80).
48. Σ bT ad *Il.* XXI.325a (= Erbse 1969–88: 5.201): ἔστι δὲ ἀπαραμίλλητα ταῦτα τοῦ Ὁμήρου οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῇ μεγαληγορίᾳ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἐννοίᾳ κατώρθωται ἔστι γὰρ ἰδεῖν κῦμα μετέωρον αἵματι καὶ ἀφρῷ μεμιγμένον καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιπλέοντα τὰ σώματα.
49. For a concise introduction, see Lamberton 1986: 216–21, esp. 219; cf. Russell and Konstan 2005: xiii–xv, along with Edwards 1991: 296–7 (on *Il.* XX.67–74). More generally on the evolution of ancient allegorical interpretative modes, especially in relation to Homer, see e.g. Buffière 1956; Lamberton 1986; Dawson 1992; Long 1992; Ramelli and Lucchetta 2004; Struck 2004; Ramelli 2007; Sheppard 2014: esp. 89–95; note also the essays in Copeland and Struck 2010, which include numerous chapters on the 'ancient foundations' of allegory and further references of the relevant bibliography. We are grateful to Michael Silk for steering us through the most important ancient literary critical discussions.
50. = DK 8 A2 (Diels and Kranz 1951–2: 1.51–2), with translation and discussion in Struck 2004: 27–8; cf. Buffière 1956: 101–5; Lamberton 1986: 31–3; Ramelli and Lucchetta 2004: 53–5. Specifically mentioning those who deem the theomachy 'allegories concerning the nature of the elements' (ἀλληγορίαι πάντα εἰρῆσθαι νομίζοντες ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν στοιχείων φύσεως), and associating this interpretative mode with Theagenes of Rhenium ('who first wrote about Homer'), Porphyry labels this mode of defending the Homeric passage very ancient (οὗτος μὲν οὖν <ὁ> τρόπος ἀπολογίας ἀρχαῖος ὢν πάνυ): 'the story sets forth battles by naming fire "Apollo", "Helios" and "Hephaestus", water "Poseidon" and "Scamander", the moon "Artemis", the air "Hera", and so on', Proclus concludes (μάχας δὲ διατίθεσθαι αὐτόν, διονομάζοντα τὸ μὲν πῦρ Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἥλιον καὶ Ἥφαιστον, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ Ποσειδῶνα καὶ Σκάμανδρον, τὴν δ᾽ αὖ σελήνην Ἄρτεμιν, τὸν ἀέρα δὲ Ἥραν καὶ τὰ λοιπά).
51. On the Platonic language of *hyponoia* here, and its later relationship to terms like *ainigma*, *symbolon* and eventually *allēgoria*, see the overview of Buffière 1956: 45–65.
52. Cf. [Longinus] *Subl.* 9.7, discussing the battle of the gods and other passages in terms of 'allegory' (εἰ μὴ κατ᾽ ἀλληγορίαν λαμβάνοιτο). Similar associations can also be found in the Homeric scholia that associate Scamander and Hephaestus with 'water' and 'fire': cf. e.g. Σ bT ad *Il.* XX.73–4 (= Erbse 1969–88: 5.18); Σ bT ad *Il.* XXI.366 (= Erbse 1969–88: 5.214).
53. For Heraclit. *Quaest. Hom.* 52–8, see Russell and Konstan 2005: 90–7; for [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 102, see Keaney and Lamberton 1996: 164–7, along with Hillgruber 1994–9: 2.213–32 for a commentary on chapters 93–102.
54. As Hillgruber 1994–9: 2.231 notes of chapter 102, 'Der Zweikampf des Hephaistos mit dem Fluß . . . war besonders gut dafür geeignet, eine physikalische Allegorese der Theomachie zu begründen'; Hillgruber also notes the additional parallels in Plut. *Mor.* [*De prim. frig.* 14] 950E and Maximus of Tyre 26.8E–G (= Hobein 1910: 317–18).
55. See Kroll 1889: 1.87–95, with English translation and brief commentary in Lamberton 2012: 90–109.

56. = Kroll 1889: 1.87 (translation: Lamberton 2012: 93).
57. = Kroll 1889: 1.95 (translation: Lamberton 2012: 109).
58. = Kroll 1889: 1.87 (translation: Lamberton 2012: 91). On Proclus' allegorical interpretations of Homer, especially in relation to the theomachy, cf. Buffière 1956: 549–53; Sheppard 1980: 49–58 (discussing the debts to Syrianus); Lamberton 1986: 162–232; Kuisma 1996: 79–134, esp. 107–9. More generally on Proclus' attitude to poetic *mimēsis*, see the short overview of Lamberton 2012: xvii–xxvi, along with e.g. Rangos 1999; Struck 2004: 227–53; Sheppard 2014: esp. 89–95.
59. On the evolution of Greek critical thinking about the 'symbol', above all in the context of ancient literary criticism, see Struck 2004. The language of *symballein* recurs in other *Imagines* tableaux, often punning on its connotations of 'symbolic' and 'allegorical' interpretation (e.g. I.3.2: συμβαλοῦσα; II.12.2: ξυμβαλλομένου τοῦ πατρός; II.20.2: συμβάλλεσθαι; II.25.1: συμβαλέσθαι; II.27.2: οὐκ ἂν συμβάλοι τις; II.29.4: ξυμβάλλει). It is also symptomatic of Philostratus' artistry that, just as the opening description begins with its promise of 'inferring what the painting means' (συμβάλωμεν οὖν, ὅ τι νοεῖ), the final ring-compositional tableau, which evokes a painting of the Horai, ends with a declaration that the image's symbolism is 'easy for mankind to interpret' (καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ξυμβαλεῖν ῥᾴδιον, II.34.1). At other times, the speaker explicitly comments upon the *symbola* in the paintings described (I.5.2: γεωργίας δὲ καὶ ναυτιλίας σύμβολα; I.12.3: καὶ τοιοῦδε μύθου φέρει σύμβολα; I.15.2: τοῦ θεοῦ σύμβολον).
60. One might compare here Philostratus' account of a painting of Phaethon at *Imagines* I.11, which uploads a series of cosmological-allegorical exegetic readings.
61. For *ainigmata* in the *Imagines* – and in particular the relationship between the 'riddles' of Philostratus' gallery and those of the anonymous *Tablet of Cebes* – see Squire and Grethlein 2014: esp. 313–14 (on *Imag.* I.6.3, I.22.2, II.1.4 and II.34.3); cf. also Bartsch 1989: 2–3. So far as we can tell, the only critics to have noted the allegorical suggestiveness of the Scamander tableau are Conan 1987: 166–7 (albeit very briefly, and without reference to the longer critical backdrop) and Webb 2015: 212 (noting an Homeric scholiast tradition, but without broader explication).
62. Needless to say, there is a huge literature here: Halliwell 2002: 37–157 offers one of the most insightful recent discussions.
63. The philosopher does have his moment later on in the *Imagines*: in a passage alluding to the fifth book of the *Republic* (474E), and in the context of homoerotic praise, Plato is explicitly named as 'the son of Ariston' at I.4.3. One might also note the Greek title of Philostratus' work (εἰκόνες): the choice of title, we think, situates the work within a tradition of ontological and epistemological inquiry – rooted in the philosophy of Plato – about *what* images are, and what it might mean to view them (see Squire 2013a: 104–5, with 131, n. 49; more generally on the pregnant associations of this terminology, and for numerous parallels, cf. Sheppard 2014: esp. 57–67): the title is already attested by the Suda, as well as by e.g. Ps.-Menander (see Anderson 1986: 291–6, esp. 295).
64. The quest came to the fore in Goethe's attempt to *re*-arrange Philostratus' own ordering of tableaux so as to arrive at their supposed 'original' display: for discussion, see especially Michel 1973; Osterkamp 1991; Guillot 2001; Siebert 2010; Bachmann 2015: 53–9. The classical – and classically flawed – twentieth-century attempt to reconstruct the gallery was Lehmann-Hartleben

1941 (discussing *Imag.* I.1 at 20, 36, 42); cf. Bryson 1994 and Baumann 2011: 94–105. For more detailed bibliography on debates about the gallery's authenticity, see Schönberger and Kalinka 1968: 26–37, along with Primavesi and Giuliani 2012: 36–48 and Bachmann 2015: 43–52.

65. On this edition – with illustrations by by Léonard Gaultier and Thomas de Leu after designs by Jaspar Isaac and Antoine Caron, and additional epigrams by Thomas d'Embry – see Crescenzo 1999: 161–80 and Graziani 1995: 2.977–86. A full facsimile of the plates can be found in Graziani 1995: 2.987–1056.
66. Of course, as Myles Lavan points out to us, one might turn our argument about the illustration on its head: we might approach the image as something that visualises not just the imagined form of Philostratus' evoked painting, but also the underlying questions of his text. Just as the Philostratean description plays upon a Homeric poem that is 'there'/'not there' in the painting, so in turn might the engraving prompt its viewers to wonder about its own relationship to Philostratus' text – to ponder both its correlations, and its conspicuous departures. Do we recognise that these things are of Philostratus? Or do we wonder at the image of fire and water? Should we look at the image? Or should we turn first to the text from which it derives? Which qualities of the description reside in the picture? And which qualities are no longer to be found there? One way of approaching the image, in short, is as adding a further spin to Philostratus' own movement from words to images and back again (further complicating the game through the addition of an inscribed epigram below).
67. As a rhetorical performance acted out in direct speech, Philostratus' graphic description might be said to adopt and adapt the narrative mode of the Homeric original. After all, the Philostratean text begins with a first section in direct second-person address, before proceeding to a second section figured as independent description. The move between direct and indirect speech within this written *graphē* of an address before a graphic painting, in other words, itself extends a detail of the Homeric original, which encompasses not only the narrative of the contretemps between Achilles and the river, but also a number of quoted direct speeches.
68. More generally on the trope of personification in the *Imagines*, see Squire and Grethlein 2014: 299–300, n. 62 (discussing e.g. *Imag.* I.2.1, I.3.1–2, I.27.3, II.4.3, II.8.1).
69. Cf. below, p. 80. As Boeder 1996: 150 writes in the context of this passage, 'jedes Bild beinhaltet einen Text, jeder Text ist ein Bild (denn von Bildern ist die Rede)'.
70. This sense of κόμαι recurs elsewhere in the *Imagines*. In the context of a tableau of Phaethon, for example, the speaker tells how the women on the riverbank are metamorphosing into trees ('alas for their hair/foliage, how it is all poplar leaves', φεῦ τῆς κόμης, ὡς αἰγείρου πάντα, I.11.4); likewise, an image of Hyakinthos – at once a mythological youth and a flower – is said to 'speak of how the youth's hair/foliage is "hyacinthine"' (λέγει δὲ ἡ γραφὴ καὶ ὑακινθίνην εἶναι τῷ μειρακίῳ τὴν κόμην, I.24.1), just as a tableau of Palaemon features in its depicted Poseidon sanctuary the 'foliage/hair of pine trees that make this music' (αἱ γὰρ τῶν πιτύων κόμαι τοῦτο ᾄδουσι, II.16.1). When the Younger Philostratus returns to the story of Scamander, within a tableau on 'Pyrrhus and the Mysians', he deploys the same pun: the river Scamander (here termed 'Xanthos') is evoked in terms of, *inter alia*, his/its 'foliage/hair of tender reed' (ἁπαλοῦ δόκανος κόμαι, Phil. Min. *Imag.* 10.2).

71. For the destruction of the trees around the Scamander's banks, see *Il.* XXI.350: 'burned were the elms and the willows and the tamarisks' (καίοντο πτελέαι τε καὶ ἰτέαι ἠδὲ κύπειρον). This detail follows on from Hera's explicit instruction to Hephaestus: 'and you, along the banks of Xanthos, burn the trees and beset him about with fire!' (σὺ δὲ Ξάνθοιο παρ' ὄχθας | δένδρεα καῖ', ἐν δ' αὐτὸν ἴει πυρί, *Il.* XXI.337–8).
72. For the Homeric delineation of Hephaestus as 'lame' within the context of this specific episode, see *Il.* XXI.331, where Hera addresses Hephaestus as κυλλοπόδιων ('crook-footed'). As Dubel 2013: 9–11 argues, Philostratus' characterisation of Hephaestus not as κυλλοπόδιων but rather as χωλεύων (cf. *Il.* XVIII.411, 417) might possibly – when read alongside other details of the description, not least its opening declaration of 'wonder' – remind readers of the ultimate ekphrasis of ancient literature, namely the Homeric description of the shield of Achilles. While the Elder Philostratus arguably makes a point of shunning that Homeric model in his opening tableau, it is worth noting that the Younger Philostratus returns to it in the longest tableau of his subsequent *Imagines* (Phil. Min. *Imag.* 10, on which see Squire 2013b: 164–6, with further bibliography).
73. See James 1996: 50. The term is used in this way in the proem, with explicit reference to painting's capacity to render hair-colour (*Imag.* Praef. 2: καὶ ξανθὴν κόμην οἶδε [γραφικὴ] καὶ πυρσὴν καὶ ἡλιῶσαν). But the word also came complete with complex and arguably contradictory physiognomic implications that are surely in play in Philostratus' usage: for the complex meanings of *xanthos* in relation to hair, see e.g. Adamantius' version of Polemo B37 (as edited by Ian Repath in Swain 2007: 536–7), in which 'excessively yellow' (ἄγαν ξανθή) hair reveals 'ignorance, clumsiness and wildness' (ἀμαθίαν καὶ σκαιότητα καὶ ἀγριότητα), whereas 'gently yellow' (τὸ . . . πράως ὑπόξανθον) hair points to 'learning, gentleness and skill in art' (εὐμαθίαν καὶ ἡμερότητα καὶ εὐτεχνίαν); more generally on Philostratus' debt to the *Physiognomics* of Polemo, see Elsner 2007b: 222–4.
74. The 'Xanthian' title is used twice at the opening of *Iliad* XXI (vv. 2 and 15), and also at vv. 332, 337 and 383. Philostratus exploits the name on three occasions in the *Imagines* (twice at II.2.5, and again at II.8.6); the same word also recurs in the *Imagines* of his eponymous grandson (Phil. Min. *Imag.* 10.2). The scholiast tradition reveals ancient Homeric readers also noting the latent colour suggestions of the 'Xanthian' name. Observing the Homeric dual Scamandrian/Xanthian title, a number of scholia explain that the gods call the river 'Xanthos', whereas humans call it 'Scamander' (cf. Erbse 1969–88: 5.17 ad *Il.* XX.73–4); but the river is called Xanthos, Σ T ad *Il.* XX.73–4 adds, 'since it renders yellow the bodies of those who wash in it or fruits' (Ξάνθος δὲ καλεῖται ἐπεὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν λουομένων ἢ τοὺς καρποὺς ξανθίζει). Among the famous bathers, we are told, is Aphrodite: far from being a natural blonde, Aphrodite bathed in the river before the judgement of Paris, thereby rendering herself *xanthē* ('some say that before the judgement Aphrodite bathed there and became blonde': οἱ δέ, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως Ἀφροδίτη λουσαμένη αὐτοῦ ξανθὴ γέγονεν). Needless to say, the scholiast's play on the word ξανθός – as both a Scamandrian name and a reference to hair-colour – neatly parallels Philostratus' own!
75. Cf. Boeder 1996: 153: 'Wäre das Feuer "xanthos", so sähen wir – nichts. Denn in dem Wort "xanthos" decken sich Feuer und Wasser, die beiden entgegengesetzten Pole, die das Thema des Bildes ausmachen. Das Feuer fließt

(ἐπιρρεῖ . . .) auf das Wasser zu, Feuer im Wasser, xanthos im Xanthos würde alle Konturen verwischen.'

76. Cf. *Imag.* Praef. 2, where Philostratus defines painting as something comprised of colours (ζωγραφία δὲ ξυμβέβληται μὲν ἐκ χρωμάτων), cleverly accomplishing more from this one aspect than the other form of plastic art does through its many means (ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείω σοφίζεται ἀπὸ τούτου ἑνὸς ὄντος ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἡ ἑτέρα τέχνη).
77. More generally on focalisation in the *Imagines*, see e.g. Leach 2000: 241–5; Elsner 2004; 2007a: 132–76, esp. 137–46; Webb 2006: 123–8; Squire 2013a.
78. See Gombrich 1960: esp. 154–244. More generally on 'reader' and 'viewer supplementation' as a theme of Hellenistic art and poetry, cf. Zanker 2004: 72–102.
79. The game here, of course, relies on a long-standing etymological play that figures 'knowing' (οἶδα) in terms of 'having seen' (εἶδον): the classic analysis remains Snell 1924; cf. Squire 2016a: esp. 13–15 (with further bibliography).
80. It should further be noted that not all the puns can be translated into English: consider, for example, the reference to τῆς Ἰλιάδος τὴν γνώμην – referring to a 'means' or 'sign of knowing' in the *Iliad*.
81. The *Imagines* proem sets up the theme explicitly, referring to the 10-year-old addressee of the speeches as 'eager to learn' (χαίρων τῷ μανθάνειν, Praef. 5).
82. For a related point in the context of Philostratus' descriptions of paintings derived from, or in turn associated with, dramatic texts, see Elsner 2007c.
83. Steinberg 1980: esp. 210 provides a particularly percipient diagnosis of the dilemma.
84. For the poles of 'absorption' and 'erudition' in the *Imagines*, see the excellent analysis of Newby 2009, discussing this passage at pp. 326–8.
85. The meaning 'look away' for ἀπόβλεψον is favoured by Palm 1965–6: 164; cf. e.g. Elsner 1995: 29–30, with 316, n. 27; Boeder 1996: 151–2; Webb 2006: 124–5; Dubel 2009: 313; Newby 2009: 326. Shadi Bartsch (following a suggestion by Jack Winkler) argues for an instruction based on the more common meaning, namely to 'gaze steadfastly at' or 'look at' (Bartsch 1989: 20, n. 9). As Bartsch herself points out, 'the act of returning to the painting proper after a contemplation of what is not to be seen on its surface is of common enough occurrence in the Εικόνες (e.g., I.6.7, I.13.9, I.25.3, I.27.2, II.7.2, II.13.2, II.23.2)' (ibid.: 20, n. 20). We are happy to leave the issue open. But there are nonetheless good reasons for thinking the suggestion a tad stretched, both semantically (given the antithetical instruction at the beginning of the second paragraph to look back again: ὅρα δὴ πάλιν) and grammatically (with the phrasing ἀπόβλεψον αὐτῶν, the verb takes a genitive, not a direct object: Bartsch nonetheless suggests that 'the genitive αὐτῶν is therefore of attraction, not separation'; in any case, we should note the verb's anticipation of the following clause, as Jonas Grethlein points out to us, which repeats the preposition in the phrase ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἡ γραφή). In any case, it is significant that, even in this crucial detail about *either* looking *or* looking away, Philostratus' formulation has led scholars to see/read the text/picture both ways: just where should we draw the boundaries, in Philostratus' graphic text, between 'looking intensely' and 'looking away'?
86. Webb 2006: 125 cites the opening Scamander tableau as an example 'of a description where the order in which the details are presented to us, the readers, mimics the changing perceptions of the boy'. It is worth noting, however, that even the opening 'naïve' first impression of the painting is framed in expressly Homeric terms. After all, the alleged response of 'wonder' (θαῦμα)

at the beginning of the description responds to the Homeric detail of the 'wondrous fire' described in the *Iliad* (θεσπιαδιαὲς πῦρ, XXI.341). Likewise, the very paradox of the described 'fire boiling in the water' itself resonates to the sound of Homer's own description (ὅπως δήποτε ἔζει τὸ πῦρ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι: different manuscripts render the verb either ἔζη or ἔζει; Reiske's emendation conjectured ζῇ). Like many others, Fairbanks' Loeb edition has misunderstood the verb, thereby overlooking the Homeric reference (Fairbanks 1931: 9, translating the phrase 'as to how in the world the fire could live in the water'): the verb is not ζάω ('live'), but ζέω ('boil', 'seethe', 'teem with'); the whole phrasing takes its lead from the Homeric description at *Il.* XXI.365 (ζέε δ' ὕδωρ). Fairbanks is not alone in this error (e.g. Boeder 1996: 149: 'wie denn gleichzeitig das Feuer in dem Wasser lebte', with further commentary on pp. 150–1, suggesting that ἔζη puns on the ζάω at the root of ζωγραφία; Carbone 2008: 23: 'vedendo il fuoco che vive nell' acqua'; Pucci 2010: 28: 'come mai il fuoco possa vivere nell'acqua', etc.; cf. Schönberger and Kalinka 1968: 89: 'wie nur das Feuer nicht im Wasser erlosch' – although note the editors' commentary *ad loc.* on p. 273).

87. In this connection, it is worth noting that, while establishing a frame for the ensuing descriptions, the *Imagines* proem had exploited both the first person singular (βουλομένῳ δέ μοι, Praef. 4; ἐγὼ . . . ᾤμην, Praef. 5) *and* the first person plural (ἀπαγγελόμεν, Praef. 3; ποιησόμεθα, Praef. 5).
88. For the meaning of ἀπόβλεψον, see above, n. 85.
89. Boeder 1996: 151 nicely draws out the conceit: 'wir sollen unsere Augen vom Bild weg auf einen Text richten'; 'In diesem Falle schweift unser Blick von einem Bild auf einen Text, den Homertext, dessen "Textualität" eben dadurch in Frage gestellt wird, daß wir ihn *sehen* sollen.' As Boeder notes, the same game of literary seeing – of viewing the picture through the text – applies to the opening of the second paragraph's instruction to look (ὅρα δὴ πάλιν): 'Blicken können wir nur auf einen, diesen Text . . . Wir lernen Homer zu sehen, indem wir Philostrat lesen' (pp. 151–2).
90. See Schönberger and Kalinka 1968: 273–4. Occasional references amount to direct quotations (so that τὰ κρήδεμνα τοῦ Ἰλίου at I.1.2 recalls e.g. Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα at *Il.* XVI.100). But as Schönberger and Kalinka point out, the vast majority of allusions amount to discrete paraphrases: characteristically, the formulations of the passage not only follow Homer (ταῦτα Ὁμήρου ὄντα), but also depart from the Homeric phraseology (ταῦτα οὐκέτι Ὁμήρου).
91. Cf. e.g. Lissarrague 1992; Männlein-Robert 2007: esp. 123–7; Tueller 2008: esp. 141–54; Squire 2010; 2011: esp. 235–43; Squire and Grethlein 2014: 316–18. On the significance of the pun in the *Imagines*, see especially Boeder 1996: 137–70 (*passim*) ; Elsner 2004: 182, n. 10 ; and Squire 2013a: esp. 106–7, 109–10, 114–17.

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5

Homer's Audience: What Did They See?

Annie Schnapp-Gourbeillon

Introduction

At his weekly seminar, Jean-Pierre Vernant used to begin his answer to a friend's or a colleague's question with these words: 'écoute voir', which could be translated as: 'listen to see'. Of course, in our century saturated by images of all kinds, this sounds just like a verbal tic, but nevertheless it is significant of a certain form of perception of reality. Indeed, in an aniconic world like that of the auditors of the Homeric poems, the recitation of the verses leads to a very different reception of the poetic images they convey. Although it is obvious that they help to give to the text its incomparable quality, these poetic images are the only means of visualisation of the theatre of the epics: the battlefield as well as the remembrance of the warriors' faraway cities, the unleashed forces of nature – the raging sea, the furious winds, the devastating fire – or the peaceful life of the peasants and cattle farmers.

Homer may have been the bard of a mythical war, following the heroic deeds of his main characters one after another, as happens in most epics from the Greek world onwards. But the poet of the *Iliad* is a genius who does not content himself with the pleasant enumeration of the episodes of battle, even though they belong to a mythical context, previously transmitted orally and certainly already known to his auditors, at least in their broad outline. On the contrary, the *Iliad* is a coherent literary composition that gives rise to the evocation of an entire world, a book of images intentionally organised according to the development of the narration, in order to make the auditors see not only the succession of events, but also all the background of this very particular war – and all the while making reference to their contemporary society.

So what did the auditors see when they were listening to the *Iliad*?

Topography

The theatre of war is the first concern. The auditor must be at ease with the place where the deeds are performed, where the heroes do their fighting and in some cases dying. Let us begin with the plain of Troy.

Apart from the numerous studies undertaken on the accuracy of the description of Trojan topography in the first millennium (Luce 1998; Bintliff

1991; Nagy 2010: 147–70), which do not really concern this chapter, it can be said that the Homeric description is remarkably precise and easy to visualise for an auditor of the poet: the shore, where the Achaeans' ships are beached; the plain, where the fighting between the two armies takes place; the two rivers, Simoïs and Scamander, running across the plain; and the besieged city of Troy, far from the sea, at the other extremity of the landscape. This is the general frame that encloses the unfolding of the war.

The ships, to begin with, occupy the whole natural harbour, and they have been lined up as follows:

> The ships had been drawn up far away from the fighting along the shore of the grey sea; for these they had first drawn up towards the plain, but had built a wall at the sterns; for wide as the beach was it could in no way contain all the ships, and the troops were constrained; therefore they had drawn them up in ranks and had filled the wide mouth of the whole shore that was shut in by two headlands. (XIV.30–6)[1]

And more precisely:

> She [Eos] stood upon the capacious black ship of Odysseus which lay in the centre to make a shout carry to either end of the line, both to the huts of Aias son of Telamon and to those of Achilles, who had drawn up their trim ships on the furthermost ends, trusting in their prowess and the strength of their hands. (XI.5–9)

One cannot escape the thought that these ships have been placed exactly as was the phalanx of more recent times: the two most valorous warriors of the Achaean army – Aias son of Telamon at one extremity, the 'Best of the Achaeans' (Achilles, as qualified by Nagy 1979) at the other. This can hardly be a coincidence. Whatever interpretation is made, this precision contributes a great deal to the visualisation of the scene, even more for an auditor still familiar with the actual disposition of the Greek armies.

Further in the hinterland, beyond the ships, the landscape is well defined by landmarks, such as the fig tree near the walls of Troy ('As for your army, draw it up by the fig tree, where the city is particularly open to attack and the wall can be scaled', VI.433–4), the mound in the middle of the plain ('And the Trojans facing them on the rising ground of the plain', XI.56 and XX.3), the two rivers ('when they had come to Troy and the two flowing rivers, where the Simoïs and the Scamander join their streams', V.773–4), and the springs, one warm and the other cold, whose waters supply the Scamander ('They [Achilles and Hector] sped past the lookout and the windswept fig tree ever away from under the wall along the cart-track, and came to the two fair-flowing fountains where the two sources of eddying Scamander rise', XXII.145–8). The scenery looks at first essentially natural, except for the Achaean wall and the road leading from the harbour to the city (mentioned twice: X.349, *parex hodou*, and XXII.146).

But the poem focuses mostly on landmarks erected by human hands. The space between the two armies is filled by several tumuli that play a special role in the development of the poem. These mounds appear in

almost every book of the *Iliad* and play a significant role in the description of the landscape of the war. In fact, apart from its strictly funerary function, one may ask what a tumulus is for. The answer is unambiguous: its main characteristic is *visibility*. Everybody must see it, must be impressed by its size: 'In front of the city there is a steep mound (*kolōnē*) far out in the plain, passable on this side and on that, which men call Bateia, but the immortals call the tomb (*sēma*) of dancing Myrine' (II.811–14). The word used by the poet to describe the tumulus, *kolōnē*, means a heap of stones and mud, obviously prominent in the flatness of the scenery surrounding it.[2]

Is visibility always the first component of its presence? What about memory? Are there also different kinds of memory? At this point we may answer that yes, the Homeric tumulus is a polysemous object which, as Nagy points out, calls for a *noesis* (Nagy 1983). Let us explain further.

First of all, is it a real 'timemark', as argued by Grethlein (2008). According to this scholar:

> The concept of 'timemarks' is a term that applies very well to the tombs in the Homeric epics. The tombs are not random marks in the landscape, but are rather markers of the past that were made in memory of the dead and are now used as points of orientation. (Grethlein 2008: 28)

I could support this argument if the main purpose of mentioning the tombs in the poem were a chronological one. But Homer is no historian and few examples in the text demonstrate any real interest in heroic memory. An exception is the tomb of Ilus, where mention of the ancestor is absolutely necessary to legitimate the present kinship of Troy. Otherwise chronological depth is slight, limited to one or two generations at best (three in the special case of Ilus). Moreover, it seems that the attribution of the tomb to a particular hero is not a compulsory element in Homeric discourse. The tumulus, as we shall see, does not even need to be attributed to somebody known to the auditors of the poem. It exists by itself, as a proof of the occupation of the territory by men, dead or still alive.

Turning back to the criterion of visibility, what can we observe? If the tumulus becomes more or less invisible, the memory it conveys vanishes. A good example of this is given by the violent anger of the river Scamander menacing Achilles (XXI.316–23):

> For I say that neither his strength nor his beauty shall avail him, nor his fine armour, which shall lie somewhere deep below my waters hidden by the mud; and I will cover him with sand, pouring round him abundant shingle, limitless; and the Achaeans will not know where to gather up his bones, so much silt will I pile over him. There shall his burial mound (*sēma*) be made for him, there will be no need for erecting a barrow (*tumbochoēs*) when the Achaeans hold his funeral.

Indeed, the mound must be seen from far away, especially from the sea. In the *Odyssey*, the reference to the *sēma* for Achilles by Patroclus (and in a non-Iliadic tradition Antilochus) goes further in this yearning for visibility (*Od.* XXIV.80–4):

> And about them next we the holy host of Argive spearmen raised a great and glorious barrow (*tumbos*) on a headland jutting out above the broad Hellespont, that it might be seen from far out at sea by men who now are and are yet to be born.[3]

However, an overtly visible tomb also provides an enemy with the possibility of desecration, as in the threat made by Hector to Menelaus in IV.174–7: 'and the earth will rot your bones as you lie dead in Troy with your task incomplete. And thus shall some boastful Trojan speak, as he leaps upon the barrow (*tumbos*) of glorious Menelaus . . .'.

The mound may recall some heroic deed, at the very place where it happened. Hence the *sēma* of Eetion, killed by Achilles (VI.416–19): '[Achilles] killed Eetion, but he did not strip his armour from him, for he respected him in his heart, but he burned his body in his elaborately wrought armour and raised a burial mound (*sēma*) over it.' Slain by Achilles, Eetion can be nothing else than a first-class hero, whose *aristeia* does not figure, however, in the *Iliad*. In this case, visibility is reinforced by the trees planted by the Nymphs over the mound, as notable proof of the divine world's interest in the battle and the unfortunate warrior.

As for its actual significance, the tumulus may also serve the memory of someone other than the dead man who lies within it. Hector himself claims the memorial value of another man's grave:

> But if I kill him and Apollo grants me my prayer I will strip him of his armour and carry it to sacred Ilium and hang it before the temple of far darting Apollo; but his body I will return among the well-benched ships so that the long-haired Achaeans may give him burial and heap up a burial mound (*sēma*) over him beside the broad Hellespont. And one day someone yet to be born, sailing in his many-benched ship over the wine-dark sea, will say: 'This is the burial mound (*sēma*) of a man who died long ago, a champion whom glorious Hector killed.' So someone will say, and my glory (*kleos*) will never die. (VII.81–91)

The mound here testifies to the *kleos* of Hector, not to that of the dead warrior, who remains simply 'a man who died long ago'.

The mound may be a cenotaph, the ashes of the dead having been carried away to their remote homes, as in VII.331–7:

> Therefore you must cease the battle of the Achaeans at dawn, and we will ourselves gather and wheel here the bodies with oxen and mules; then we will burn them a little distance from the ships, so that each man may bear their bones home to their children when we return to our native land. And let us heap a single barrow (*tumbon*) about the pyre, building it up from the plain for all alike.[4]

Sometimes, when it belongs to a third-rank hero, to some 'forgotten man of old', the *sēma* itself can represent something dubious, as in Nestor's speech before the chariot race (XXIII.325–32):

> I will tell you a very clear sign (*sēma*) which will not escape you: there stands a withered stump about six feet high above the ground, either

> of oak or pine; it has not rotted in the rain, and two white stones lean against either side of it at the joining of the track and there is smooth driving for horses all round it; either it is the burial mound (*sēma*) of some man who died long ago or it was set up as a turning-post by men who lived before our time.

Here we find the coexistence of the two senses of *sēma*, sign and grave; the *sēma* may or may not be a tomb, yet if it is in this particular case, its occupant has been entirely forgotten.

The mound may also serve solely as a useful place to climb up for observing the enemy, as in II.790–4:

> Standing close by swift-footed Iris spoke to them; she made her voice sound like that of Priam's son Polites, who trusting in his fleetness of foot used to sit as watchman of the Trojans, on the highest point of the barrow (*tumbos*) of old Aesyetes.

In this case, it serves mainly as a lookout point and is of little memorial value, as 'old Aesyetes' is (and remains in the poem) totally unknown beyond this single mention of his name.

The tomb, then, is evidently a spatial marker. Everybody knows of the tomb of the Dardanid Ilus (Priam's grandfather), in the middle of the Trojan plain. Ilus' *sēma* (or *tumbos*) is mentioned three times in the *Iliad*, each time as a prominent location in the landscape. The first reference to it is simply topographical, yet it nevertheless insists on the importance of the tomb (XXIV.349): 'When they had driven beyond the great mound (*mega sēma*) of Ilus'; the second is in relation to a council held by Hector near the tomb (X.414–15): 'Hector with those who are counsellors is holding council by the tomb (*sēma*) of godlike Ilus'; and the third mention of it denotes the casual attitude of the hero who uses the *stēlē* for support to take aim with his bow and arrow (XI.369–72):

> But Alexander the husband of fair-tressed Helen drew his bow at the son of Tydeus, shepherd of the people, leaning against the pillar (*stēlē*) on the barrow (*tumbos*) that was wrought by men's hands, of Ilus the son of Dardanus, an elder of the people in times gone by.

The tomb receives no particular mark of respect; on the contrary, it simply stands as witness to the long history of the reigning family, consolidating its right to govern the country.

From what we observe in the Homeric poems, the making of a tumulus is an essential part of the funerary ritual; it is the *geras* of the dead, as expressed in XVI.453–7:

> But when his soul and life leave him [Sarpedon], send Death and sweet Sleep to carry him away, until they reach the land of broad Lycia, where his kinsmen and dependents will bury him with a barrow (*tumbos*) and pillar (*stēlē*), for this is the privilege (*geras*) due to the dead.

The ritual is described as a whole on the occasion of Hector's funeral in XXIV.664–7:

> For nine days we will mourn him in our halls, and on the tenth day we will bury him and the people will feast; on the eleventh day we will heap a barrow (*tumbos*) over him, and on the twelfth we will fight if needs be.

But after the funeral, there is no further trace of any ritual activity related to the cult of heroes or ancestors. The *sēma* remains as a witness to the very recent past, and its perception is linked to the tales told by those who are still alive; it is this narrative tradition that selects the memories attached to the tumulus, protecting or eliminating them. And this absence of any form of cult is to be related to the slightness of chronological depth, as we argued earlier.

At this point, the auditors are thus faced with a fairly complete image of the scene of war; they can visualise the location of each particular event in the unfolding of the fighting. The description is vivid and accurate, and could be sufficient to provide the audience with a very satisfying feeling of fulfilment. Several epics content themselves with such a panorama, focusing solely on the display of many heroic deeds. But the *Iliad* is different from any other epic, except for the *Odyssey*, which nevertheless could be by a different author (let us avoid discussing this point here). The plain topography of the 'real' Trojan War was not enough for the poet of the *Iliad*, who came to write a work of unequalled perfection. ('Did you say "write"?', a reader may ask. Together with many contemporary scholars,[5] I cannot think of such a masterpiece as elaborated without the help of writing.) So what is it that makes Homer so different, so unique, when he tells about the half-forgotten past of a long time ago (the historicity or not of a Trojan War is not relevant here), a war that nourished the imaginary world of the Greeks and their successors for centuries and centuries, a story of death and glamour so universal that it still stirs up the same emotions in our hearts?

The world of the *Iliad* through the similes

When listening to the poet, the auditor is led to visualise not only the scene of war, but a much more complete scene, including natural elements, visions of a pastoralist society, and even the mountainous place of the gods, surveying the battle, eager to intervene for their champions. The successive stages of the battle for Troy are underlined by means of a great variety of long similes that we ought to consider as significant elements integrated within the text. These similes tell us of a world that is different though inseparable from that of the warriors. The natural phenomena constitute an important group of similes; then comes the evocation of the human world with its craftsmen and peasants. The animal similes are not considered in this chapter, although it may be mentioned that they too show connections with the landscape, particularly in the images of lions looming up in a sheepfold.

Illustrating the war

The tale of the war gives rise to several images of the violence of the natural world, for example when comparing the assault of the armies with the fury of the sea or the raging waters of the rivers. Water is a main component of the vision the Greeks had of their environment, and often a very dangerous one:

> He [Diomedes] stormed across the plain like a winter torrent in spate that scatters the dykes in its swift flow; nothing can contain its sudden coming, neither the dykes that were meant to bar its way, nor the banks of fruitful vineyards, when the rains of Zeus fall heavily upon them. (V.87–91)

The same image is applied to Aias in his *aristeia* (XI.492–6):

> As when a river swollen by winter rains flows in spate down to the plain from the mountains, driven on by the rain of Zeus, and it takes with it many dry oaks and pines and hurls much debris into the sea, so glorious Aias then pursued them as he stormed across the plain.

Floods lay in the background of Greek consciousness; the Greeks were aware that many a field remained under threat of destruction throughout the cold seasons.

For a sailing people, the sea too, often associated with the winds, could be a distressing place, to be avoided when it unleashes its fury:

> Just as two winds stir up the sea that is teeming with fish, Boreas and Zephyros that blow from Thrace, suddenly coming, and immediately the dark wave gathers its crest together, and piles up much seaweed across the sea, so were the hearts of the Achaeans troubled in their breasts. (IX.4–7)

The risk of drowning is at it greatest when the menacing wave comes:

> And as a great wave of the sea with its broad ways washes over the bulwarks of a ship when the force of the wind drives it on, and it especially raises high the waves, so the Trojans with a loud cry leapt over the wall (XV.381–4)

or:

> Hector . . . fell on them . . . just as beneath the clouds a violent wave, swollen by the winds, falls on a swift ship, and it is all hidden by the foam, and the terrible blast of the wind roars against the sail, and the minds of the sailors shudder in their fear, for they are borne along only a short distance from death. (XV.624–8)

These images, as many others in the text, illustrate perfectly the world surrounding the auditor; they speak to him immediately in a language he is bound to understand as a sailor or a seafarer himself. The sea in the *Iliad* is but a means to reach the shore of Troy, or a working space for fishermen: never friendly or charming, it is just a dangerous place in which to be.

Another threat looms in the Greek landscape: fire. Along with the dangerous outburst of the waters, the similes insist on uncontrolled blazing fires:

> Even as a ravaging fire lights up a vast forest on the peaks of a mountain, and the blaze is seen from afar, so as they advanced the gleam from their splendid bronze flashed through the upper air and reached the heavens (II.455–7)

or 'As when destructive fire falls upon dense woodland, and the whirling wind carries it everywhere, and the thickets tumble uprooted before the onrush of the fire' (XI.155–7). The threat not only concerns the wilderness that encloses the territory of each city, it can jeopardise the city itself and its inhabitants:

> The fight that was stretched out between them was like a fierce fire which rising suddenly leaps upon a city of men and sets it ablaze, and the houses are consumed in a huge glare, and the force of the wind makes it roar. (XVII.736–9)

The hubbub of war can sometimes be worse than any natural forces, as described in another simile which brings together the sea, the winds and fire:

> Not so loudly does a wave of the sea roar against the shore, stirred up from the deep by the harsh blast of the North Wind, nor so loud is the crackling of a blazing fire in mountain glens, when it springs up to burn a wood, nor so loud does the wind shriek, amid the tall leafy oaks, when it roars loudest in its fury, as then was the cry of the Trojans and the Achaeans. (XIV.394–400)

The violence of the forces of nature is perfectly appropriate for underlining the violence of the fighting, though underneath the aesthetic dimension of the similes lay another, deeper level: war and the wildness of nature come under the same necessity; they are inescapable, and both carry the potentiality of destruction and of death. All through the *Iliad* runs as a motif the idea of the madness of war, its beauty being a dangerous trap to lure young warriors eager for glory. War means death, the destruction of glamorous cities, carnage, mourning for parents, despair for wives and children. It leads to unacceptable *hubris* on the part of the heroes, forbidden behaviour as, for example, the *mermera erga* committed by Ulysses and Diomedes in the Doloneia (X.289), or (in the same words) the human sacrifice achieved by Achilles, slaying twelve young Trojans on Patroclus' funeral pyre. In this magnificent war-song the poet dares to take a critical look at heroic behaviour, choosing to insist on the tragedy that is war among mortals.

The world left behind

Elsewhere, in another life, there was peace and happiness. The similes set the scene of a beautiful world far away from the grim theatre of war, where most men are bound to die. These similes show as a nostalgic counterpoint

the world of the remote homes of these warriors, where a man is able to stop to observe the fascinating sight of birds in the sky:

> And as the many tribes of feathered birds, geese or cranes or long-necked swans, in an Asian meadow beside the streams of Caÿster, fly hither and thither exulting in their plumage, with loud cries settling ever onwards, and the meadow resounds. (II.459–63)

Peacetime makes it possible to marvel at the splendour of the sky:

> As when in the heavens the stars shine clearest around the bright moon, when the air is windless, and all the peaks are clear and the tops of the headlands and the glades; and the infinite air breaks forth from the heavens, and all the stars are seen and the shepherd rejoices in his heart. (VIII.555–9)

The bird simile is immediately followed by another one: 'Even as the many tribes of swarming flies that hover over the sheepfolds in the spring season, when the milk drenches the pails' (II.469–71), which evokes precisely the rural settlements where all the fighters have come from (the same simile is at XVI.641–3). Other similes set the scene of a pastoral world, the Trojans being, for example: 'like sheep that stand in their thousands in the steading of a man of substance, to be milked of their white milk, bleating without ceasing as they hear the cries of their lambs' (IV.433–5).

Man is present everywhere in the landscape. As a woodman in the forest: 'At the time when a woodcutter prepares his meal in the glens of a mountain, when his hands have grown weary of cutting down tall trees and his heart has had enough' (XI.86–7), or: 'he fell, as when some oak falls or a poplar or a tall pine that woodmen have felled with their sharpened axes on the mountains to provide timbers for a ship' (XIII.389–91), or as a man harvesting or gardening: 'As a vigorous olive shoot that a man nurtures in a lonely place, fine and luxuriant, when abundant water has bubbled up' (XVII.53–4). No place is neglected, even the remotest. The entire territory of the city is covered, country and forests, by peasants who work in the fields as well as cattle farmers or woodmen. The whole economy of the Archaic *polis* is thus illuminated through a number of lively images.

The similes offer another look at the daily life of people in time of peace. Women appear in the background, busying themselves at their main occupation in the *oikos*, namely spinning wool and weaving

> and close behind him rushed godlike Odysseus, as close as a weaver's rod is to the breast of a fair-girdled woman when she pulls it deftly with her hands drawing out the spool along the warp, and she holds it close to her breast. (XXIII.760–3)

The description is always precise, calling for immediate reminiscence from the auditor. It seems that, through the similes, the poet wants to draw a complete image of the world left behind by the warriors, without forgetting any part of it. And for his audience, it is through these images that the

link with this mythical heroic past is made, the bridge that allows the kind of identification necessary to enter into the world of the poet.

But in the poem this world is lost, its evocation just like an inaccessible dream that underlines the inhumanity of the present war. The use of similes accentuates the distance between the tale of the heroic deeds and the picture of the faraway homelands of the fighters. The same contrast between war and peace is exemplified in the description of the shield of Achilles (book XVIII), which can appear as an oversized simile in this context (Nagy 1983).

At least in part, the uniqueness of the *Iliad* resides in the totally unusual number of similes it brings into view. Far from being simple additions to the text, these similes accompany all sorts of events, and, moreover, they convey a flood of images; listening to Homer, the auditor, shutting his eyes, 'sees' a world, half mythical, half real, that he shares with the poet.

Text and images

A related question to end on is this: is there a link between the poems and the images figured on vases? At the time when the *Iliad* was written, let us say some time around the eighth century BC, images on vases began slowly to reappear. They were still rare and essentially related to one major function: the funerals of the elite. Four centuries before this time, in the twelfth century, there had been a blossoming of images of a new kind on vases, mostly warlike images,[6] different from what was preferred when the Mycenaean *wanaka* were in command of their powerful kingdoms. After the end of these kingdoms, a new Mycenaean society, very much alive yet fragmented, went on picturing new themes on its pottery for at least half a century. Then it stopped. One almost traditional explanation is the advent of the 'Dark Ages', which remain until now a historical mystery, even if some recent discoveries (as at Lefkandi or Kalapodi or some other important sites) have contributed to change slightly the point of view of scholars, and to narrow the period of time assigned to this gap in continuity between the second and the first millennia.

But while the vases of the Protogeometric period are aniconic, that does not mean that they are of poor quality. The use of the wheel, the compass, the precision of the oven-firing techniques used, the durability of the glazing: all this argues for a high level of technical *savoir-faire*. So the absence of figured scenes seems to be more the result of a conscious choice than an impoverishment of the technical knowledge of the potters. If we are at a loss to explain this absence of images on the vases, we must consider the transmission of the iconographic themes themselves, for there are many similarities between the ceramic production of the twelfth century and that of the eighth and seventh. Very similar images of warriors and funerals figure in the pottery of Mycenaean and of Geometric times, even if they seem to have disappeared for at least three centuries. Poetic images could have been one of the main vectors of transmission, aside from some lost materials such as textiles, which

appear under the ambiguous word *poikilos*[7] in the Homeric poems and could have represented figured scenes as well. But, as brilliantly shown by Anthony Snodgrass in his book *Homer and the Artists* (Snodgrass 1998), poetry in this case means above all oral poetry, namely the whole Epic Cycle, already initiated in the Bronze Age, and not specifically the Homeric poems, which are much more sophisticated and complex.

So, even if oral poetry conveys some ubiquitous themes favoured by the potters, who evidently share with the poets the same mythical background, Homer goes far beyond this level of representation. The images displayed by Homer in the *Iliad* go beyond the register of Archaic painted pottery. To the audience of the poet, the *Iliad* offers a panoramic view of a global world, as vivid as a film can be in our society, a vision that alternates the violent spectacle of a cruel war and its subtle counterpoint of faraway and peaceful homelands. The literary construction of the poem, notably through the use of similes, makes possible this artful oscillation between the narration of the events and the omnipresent evocation of the different levels of reality that compose the auditor's world.

Notes

1. All Homeric quotations in the main text of this chapter are from the *Iliad* except one, from the *Odyssey*, which is noted. The translations are by Keith Rutter.
2. The same longing for visibility is notably present in the epic of *Beowulf*: 'Order my troop to construct a barrow / on a headland on the coast, after my pyre has cooled. / It will loom on the horizon at Hronesness / and be a reminder among my people – / so that in coming times crews under sail / will call it Beowulf's Barrow' (*Beowulf*, vv. 2802–7, in Heaney 2000: 189).
3. The *Odyssey* provides few examples of funeral mounds. One of them, twice mentioned, is that of Elpenor, the not-so-glorious comrade of Odysseus, who fell from Circe's roof after a hangover. From the land of the dead he implores the hero to give him a funeral: 'Burn me with my armour, such as it is, and heap up a mound (*sēma*) for me on the shore of the grey sea, in memory of an unlucky man, that men may yet know of me. Do this for me and fix upon the mound (*tumbos*) my oar which I rowed in life in the company of my comrades' (*Od.* XI.74–8). The oar upon the grave is rather unconventional and one may suspect a hint of irony on the part of the poet.
4. Cenotaphs are present in the *Odyssey* too. They convey the memories of heroes who died elsewhere, as Menelaus reminds us at *Od.* IV.581–4: 'So back I went to the heaven-fed waters of Aegyptus and moored my ships and offered a proper sacrifice of hecatombs. But after I had appeased the wrath of the immortal gods, I piled up a mound (*tumbos*) to Agamemnon, so that his fame (*kleos*) might be unquenchable.'
5. This is not the place to discuss this thesis. The oral-formulaic theory has now lost most of its followers, and after a transitional phase (characterised by the thesis of the 'oral-dictated text', a praiseworthy attempt which led nevertheless to a dead end; see bibliography), many of the specialists in Homer (with the notable exception of Nagy) seem to agree on the idea of a literary composition for the *Iliad* at the very beginning of the era of writing in Greece.

Among the several papers and books on these topics, see for a useful discussion West 2011, who writes: 'The more I examine this greatest of all epics, the more I marvel at its consistency and coherence and at how thoroughly the poet has thought it through . . . I say written, because I think it probable that he wrote out his poem himself' (p. 3). For my part, I supported this argument as early as my first book on the similes in the Homeric poems (1981), where I demonstrated (at least I hope I did) that the animal similes, far from being later additions to the text, could not be separated either from the hero they qualified or from the context of the battle, and denoted a coherence that should have implied the use of writing. On this coherence see also Leiden 1998; Latacz 1996; and Powell 1991. However, Powell's theory (that the alphabet was created especially to write down the *Iliad*) is possibly a little excessive, while not totally impossible.

6. For an exhaustive and accurate presentation of Mycenaean iconography, see Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982. More specifically, for the iconographical change of the twelfth century BC, see Schnapp-Gourbeillon 2002; 2010: ch. 1.
7. In Homer the word refers to textiles woven or embroidered in various colours; see Chantraine 1984: 923–4.

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6

Homer and the Sculptors

Nigel Spivey

The last time I wrote an essay for Anthony Snodgrass was in February 1980. He set the title: 'Have we the Hermes of Praxiteles?' – and, as I recall, gave no indication of what he himself thought was the 'right' answer to that question. My undergraduate partner for discussion of the topic would have been John Bennett (already showing signs of being more interested in the Aegean Bronze Age than in problems of Praxitelean authenticity). In the professorial office at the old Museum of Classical Archaeology ('the Ark') down Little St Mary's Lane, with Cambridge dusk descending, we sat semi-mesmerised as our mentor went through the many minor rites of cleaning, filling and eventually smoking his pipe. Between puffs came a limited range of responses: 'Ah.' 'Interesting.' 'Really?' 'Hmmm . . .' – and through the fumes, glimpses of a mysterious half-smile. It would be wrong to say that we left none the wiser. But I wondered if this was what it might have been like to consult a subdued version of the Delphic Oracle: aromatic smoke in the twilight; costive utterance to be pondered at length for its interpretation.

Almost four decades on, I feel I have come no further in being able to read the mind of Anthony Snodgrass. What he will think of my offering to this volume is pleasantly unpredictable. It aims, however, to add a complementary angle to what I think is his most forthright and unequivocal book, *Homer and the Artists*, and comes with abiding respect.

'In the beginning, Homer was just a very good poet living in Ionia' (Snodgrass 1998: 11). That premise is more controversial than perhaps it seems at first sight: if Homer appeared to his contemporaries an extraordinary genius, a poet uniquely privileged with divine inspiration, then one might indeed argue that he directly catalysed the coming of Greek literacy, and the development of figure scenes in early Greek art.[1] But suppose, for present purposes, that the reputation of an eighth-century BC Homer was local to Ionia, and that the poet died (as one legend had it) poor and obscure. So his genius was only recognised/created/celebrated later; and so 'a very good poet' became Homer the great founding father of Classical literature. How important was it that visible form was given to this transfiguration? We can argue about what Homer did for artists. What did artists do for 'Homer'?

A glance at one of the best-known representations of the poet (Fig. 6.1) is enough to indicate the particular problem raised by that question. Lodged among the corpus of Late Republican/Early Imperial Roman reliefs collectively known as the 'Iliac tablets', its subject has never been doubted – a sign of how effective our artists were, over the centuries. Beneath a summary of themes in the *Iliad*, inscribed as if on a pillar or plaque (visible lines or *lēmmata* refer to books XIV–XVIII), the poet appears seated upon something like a combination of altar and stool. The altar base is carved with processional figures, including lyre-players. Homer's head is crowned with a band or diadem, apparently conferred by the extended right arm that remains of a figure before him – a Muse, perhaps. Shoulders hunched, he leans forward over an open scroll. The body language, along with the lines incised behind him, makes for a straightforward description of the fragment: 'Homer sits reading his epic.'[2]

Modern pedants will immediately notice a problem with that description. Chronologically, scrolls of Homer post-date the poet; how can he be shown reading, when writing – in Greek – has yet to be established? It is unlikely that this anachronism troubled ancient viewers of the tablet.

Figure 6.1 *Homer on a fragment of an 'Iliac tablet' in the Berlin Antikensammlung (Fr. 14G; inv. 1755). Photo: Michael Squire.*

Yet there was – and is – a more obvious problem here. Was our poet able to see, let alone read? Barbara Graziosi, in her monograph on the formative reception of Homer as an author, observes: 'The literary evidence suggests that Homer's blindness was a universally recognised feature of his persona'; further, 'blindness is one of the most stable traits of Homer's persona' (Graziosi 2002: 128, 160). If Graziosi is right, an image of Homer reading his work should not occur at this time. It may have been generally accepted that Homer the poet was historically hard to locate. But at least his legendary existence was defined – and, like the text of his poems, 'stabilised'.

Or was it? The initial proposal of this chapter is that by the late first century BC, Homer's image was remarkably variable, even by the generous latitudes of 'likeness' in ancient Greek portraiture. That, perhaps, is not a very fresh observation – though worth making, if it corrects the understanding that Homer was 'universally' imagined as blind. In any case, it leads us to consider an aspect of Homeric reception that so far seems to have gone ignored by Classical archaeologists. Given that the image of Homer was invented (which appears also to have been the consensus in antiquity), why did it persist in these several variations? Something about the 'use' of Homer, from the fifth century BC onwards, favoured a truly malleable portrait-presence. So a second purpose of this chapter is to offer an explanation of how it was that an educated Roman had considerable choice about how his Homer should appear – and why it suited educated Romans to maintain this level of choice.

Regardless of when (or if) Homer may have existed, an iconographic tradition of representing Homer began, as far as we can tell, in the first half of the fifth century BC. It was transmitted by way of coins, gems, paintings and mosaics – but primarily by sculptures: and it is with the sculptures, numbering over fifty surviving pieces, that the present chapter is mainly concerned. Of the sculptures of Homer produced in antiquity, some were evidently full-length statues; a few representations in relief survive; most images are of the head, as herms or busts. These heads, taken together, display such a broad range of physiognomic and cosmetic variations that a newcomer to the corpus – established by the mid-twentieth century – could be forgiven for being sceptical about its coherence. Here it becomes particularly desirable to examine the historical process whereby disparate types (and divergent examples within those types) have been gathered together.

Ancient commentators report images of Homer at Athens, Olympia, Delphi, Alexandria and in prominent public places elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean.[3] Where provenance of the surviving statuary can be established, however, it indicates largely private usage, most of all during the Roman Imperial period, and preponderantly in Italy. The iconographical relationship between the several (lost) 'cult' images in the east and 'domestic consumption' of Homer images in the west is open to speculation: technically, of course, the practice of taking clay or plaster casts is attested, and may have been regarded as particularly suitable for the herm portraits

favoured in Roman villas.[4] While we register the claims of various locations to be Homer's place of birth or death, and the attendant possibility that each shrine to the poet tried to assert its own visual interpretation of the poet, the fact remains that there is no testimony regarding a 'true' likeness. The sole 'art-historical' remark comes from the Elder Pliny, with his general observation that the 'yearning' (*desideria*) for a portrait of Homer overcame the historical obscurity of his facial features: so it happens that '[portraits] that do not exist are fabricated' (*quae* [sc. *imagines*] *non sunt finguntur*: *NH* XXXV.9; Pliny seems here to exploit the dual sense of *fingere* as both 'to shape' and 'to invent').

A survey of these fabricated *imagines*, however, reveals no evolutionary or diachronic pattern. The visage of Homer never settles to a single formula. This is in marked contrast to the canonising process undertaken by the Hellenistic editors of Homer, above all at Alexandria. Their scrupulous 'straightenings out' (*diorthōseis*) of Homer's original words eventually yielded texts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that were, by the time of Virgil, highly 'standardised': one modern Homerist invokes a prevalent 'aesthetics of rigidity' (Nagy 2009: 73). Such rigidity regarding Homer's poetry clearly did not apply to his imaginary presence. True, many (if not most) Greek portraits were 'fabricated', and there are other cases where variations of an individual's visage were evidently acceptable, perhaps even savoured by connoisseurs: so Socrates 'Type A' (perhaps derived from an image set up in Plato's Academy) could be compared to Socrates 'Type B' (perhaps based upon a life-size bronze statue by Lysippos of Socrates seated, originally installed in the Pompeion of Athens). And by now we know enough about sculptural practice in the Graeco-Roman world not to expect 'exact replicas' or even 'faithful copies' in marble: no wonder, then, that a headcount of (say) images of Sophocles will admit the subdivision of 'Types I–IV'. But with Homer the degree of difference is altogether exceptional. How he came to be 'recognised' despite such divergent appearances is in itself a minor epic of Classical archaeology – and the preliminary to any understanding of Homer's Protean appearance in antiquity.

Homer's *Forschungsgeschichte*

Few of the statues considered as portrait busts of Homer are inscribed with his name, and even fewer carry an inscribed name that appears ancient. So where does a history of 'recognition' begin?

Byzantine scholars were not uninterested in Homer as a text: their work was germane to the studies of the epics made by Angelo Poliziano in fifteenth-century Florence. Homer as an image was more recondite. A twelfth-century manuscript now in the library of Leipzig University, and recently exhibited as part of the 600th anniversary of the university, bids to offer the earliest post-antique representation of the poet, within a *florilegium* once stored in the Cistercian abbey of Altzella, in Saxony (Fig. 6.2). Holding a book in one hand, raising the other as if in benediction, here is a Homer whose iconographic resemblance is to no ancient type, but rather Christ Pantocrator.[5]

Figure 6.2 *Detail of a twelfth-century manuscript from the Kloster Altzella, now in the library of Leipzig University (Ms 1290, 25r). Photo: courtesy Ulrich Schneider.*

Some folk memory of the poet's legendary habitat lingered: visiting Chios some time before c. 1420, the Florentine priest Cristoforo Buondelmonti marked one of the island's ruins as *sepulchru[m] homeri*, and says that an inscription was half-legible.[6] But an active interest in Homer's person was not manifest until the sixteenth century, around the same time as European translations of Homer began to appear – into French by Hugues Salel (1580), into English by George Chapman (1614–16), and so on. A number of humanist scholars then produced volumes of *imagines illustrium* in emulation of Varro's *De Imaginibus* of 39 BC, which, although it has not survived, was known to have been an illustrated catalogue of 700 eminent men beginning with Homer and Hesiod (Pliny, *NH* XXXV.2.11).

Actually Fulvio Orsini, in his 1570 catalogue of ancient worthies, chose to commence not with Homer, but rather with Aristogeiton – possibly mindful that Pliny had specified the Tyrannicides as the first honorific statues at Athens (*NH* XXXIV.9), but in any case organising subjects first by genre (political heroes, poets, historians, orators and so on), then in chronological order (so Aristogeiton is followed by Miltiades, Themistokles, Kimon, etc.). Orsini's *caveat* regarding Homer has become *de rigueur* in any modern discussion of the poet's image: 'Homerus quibus

parentibus ortus, quibusve temporibus floruerit, incertum est' ('Homer's parentage, and the age in which he flourished, are uncertain').[7] All the same, he published one full-standing statue, subsequently lost; several coins; and an inscribed but headless herm – also subsequently lost, but at least known to have come (in 1567) from the so-called Villa Aeliana, outside Rome (Fig. 6.3).

The quantity of Homer images soon became a corpus. The Rome-based cleric and scholar Leo Allatios, vigorously defending the claim of Chios to be Homer's homeland – the island, subject to Genoa, was also where Allatios himself was born – thought he knew the ancient source. 'Cum videam reliquas Homeri facies, quae nobis ut plurimum hic Romae offeruntur, tam consimiles esse, quam possunt, suspicor eas omnes ab Asinii Pollionis ingenio emanasse' ('When I see the remaining appearances of Homer, which are offered so plentifully to us here at Rome, as similar to each other as they could be, I suspect they all derive from the inspiration of Asinius Pollio').[8] When bailiffs came to make an inventory of Rembrandt's possessions in 1656, it seems to have been clear that the painter had in his *Kunst Caemer*, among a number of Classical busts (mostly Roman emperors), a 'Homer'; and that the title given to a well-known painting now in

Figure 6.3 *Homer images, after Ursinus 1570: pl. 21.*

New York, *Aristotle Contemplating a Bust of Homer*, done three years earlier for a Sicilian patron, is at least half-right[9] (see Fig. 6.14 below). The basic qualifications for identification were spelled out by Raffaello Fabretti (1683: 345): 'barbam habet horridulam, et crispam, nec nimis longam, caput diadematum' etc. ('he has an unkempt beard, curly but not too long; wears a diadem on his head'). Two years later, Bellori published the impressive head in the Farnese Palace (Fig. 6.4) (Bellori 1685: 52; see also Palma Venetucci 2000; Gasparri 2009: 15–16). This was the bust that Alexander Pope chose to serve as the frontispiece for his rendition of the *Iliad*, as first published in 1715 (Fig. 6.5).

The Romantic faith in genius, coupled with the revival of physiognomics in the eighteenth century, naturally fostered enthusiasm for finding a credible portrait of Homer. The arch-spokesman for such enthusiasm was Goethe, whose early days in Weimar not only included visits to the cast collection of the Mannheim Antikensaal, but also brought him into the circle of the Swiss cleric J. C. Lavater. His friendship with Lavater would eventually turn sour, as Goethe distanced himself from Lavater's insistence upon physiognomy as the key to understanding all human nature; however, in 1774–8 Goethe was part of Lavater's team at work on the publication

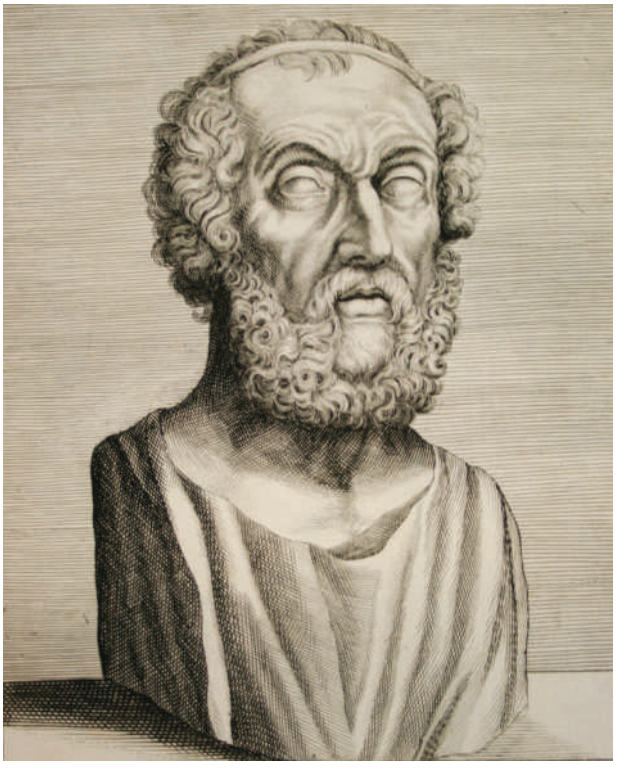

Figure 6.4 *Head of Homer, after Bellori 1685: pl. 52.*

Figure 6.5 *Frontispiece to Alexander Pope's translation of the* Iliad *(first edition).*

of *Physiognomische Fragmente*, where the facial features of Homer joined those of Socrates, Charlemagne, Erasmus, Benjamin Franklin and others as exemplary of character.[10] The first volume contained a full-page engraving of 'Homer from a fragment found in Constantinople' (Fig. 6.6), accompanied by a commentary that was anonymous, but undisguised in style and unbridled in sentiment. A part of the eloquence has often been quoted: 'Es ist Homer! Dies ist der Schädel, in dem die ungeheuren Götter und Heroen so viel Raum haben, als im weiten Himmel und der grenzlosen Erde' ('It is Homer! This is the skull in which the mighty gods and heroes found as much room as in the wide heavens and boundless earth').[11]

The choice of words here is significant: Goethe had already developed a particular interest in cranial structure, and it was important for him to define Homer's 'expressive genius' by reference to the poet's deep forehead. Aware of the tradition of Homer's blindness, Goethe stressed that this was the head not of an active 'observer' (*Beobachter*), but of a writer working from a great store of pictorial memory (Ludwig 1928: 108). But which image of Homer did Goethe have in mind? Evidently not that of Lavater's subtitle and principal illustration; rather, a plaster cast, reproduced in a minor vignette, of the Farnese head. This was the image Goethe intended with his 'Es ist Homer!' exclamation.[12] Lavater's 'fragment from

Figure 6.6 *Engraving of 'a head of Homer from Constantinople' (the 'Arundel Homer'), after Lavater et al. 1775: 244.*

Constantinople' was the so-called 'Arundel Homer', a Hellenistic bronze head brought to England in the seventeenth century for Thomas Howard, the 2nd Earl of Arundel. 'From Constantinople' was a loose provenance: centuries later, evidence has surfaced to indicate that Arundel's agent, William Petty, probably recovered the piece from a well in Smyrna.[13] It was of no concern to Goethe, but the head had subsequently passed into the possession of Dr Richard Mead, then to the 9th Earl of Exeter, before being donated to the newly founded British Museum in 1760 (Walters 1915: pl. LXIV). Anticipating Goethe, doubts would soon be aired about the identity of the subject. Before consignment to the British Museum it was sketched by George Vertue with the label of Homer (Fig. 6.7), and itemised as 'Head of *Homer*' in the 1755 sale of Mead's collection. But Taylor Combe, first Keeper at the Department of Antiquities (created in 1807), rightly observed that the head shared few of the characteristics exhibited by the Farnese bust, and also evident in a handsome example lately (1780) retrieved from Baiae by Gavin Hamilton for Charles Townley (Fig. 6.8).[14]

Goethe's friend and portraitist J. H. W. Tischbein, for his part, recruited the philologist Christian Heyne (Heine) for a handsome publishing project, *Homer nach Antiken gezeichnet* – a Homeric compendium illustrated from vases, reliefs and so on. Heyne opened with a powerful statement

Figure 6.7 *Head of the 'Arundel Homer' as drawn by George Vertue. From a sketchbook kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS. Top. Wilts. C. 4. Fol. 79).*

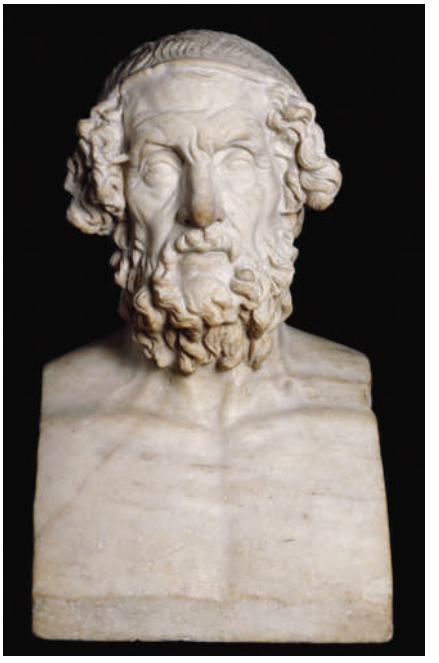

Figure 6.8 *Marble head of Homer in the British Museum, London (ex-Townley Collection). Photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

regarding 'Homer's head' (*Kopf Homers*): a concept (*Begriff*) derived from a concept, obviously fantastic yet imprinted indelibly upon the 'souls' of Homer's readers (Heyne and Tischbein 1801: 11–13). Tischbein duly contributed an etching of the Farnese Homer, with the poet appearing not so much as a statue in a niche but as a figure standing meditatively by a deep, vaulted window (Fig. 6.9). Echoes of the particular esteem reserved for this bust resounded for over a century, Jacob Burckhardt adding his judgement that it gave full expression 'to the peace [*Friedens*] that the blind enjoy' (Burckhardt 1908: 246).

A more 'scientific' procedure practised by E. Q. Visconti, both in his catalogue of sculptures at the Museo Pio Clementino (first published in 1792) and in the survey of *uomini illustri* in his *Iconografia greca* (1823), allowed numismatic evidence a more decisive role in fixing the identity of unlabelled herms and busts. But Visconti also drew attention to the inconsistency of appearance arising from this evidence. 'At least three diverse physiognomies', by his analysis, were distinct – and that was excluding the Vatican head of a venerable figure with eyes closed as if in sleep, yet upright, which Visconti proposed as an image of the long-haired, long-lived Cretan sage

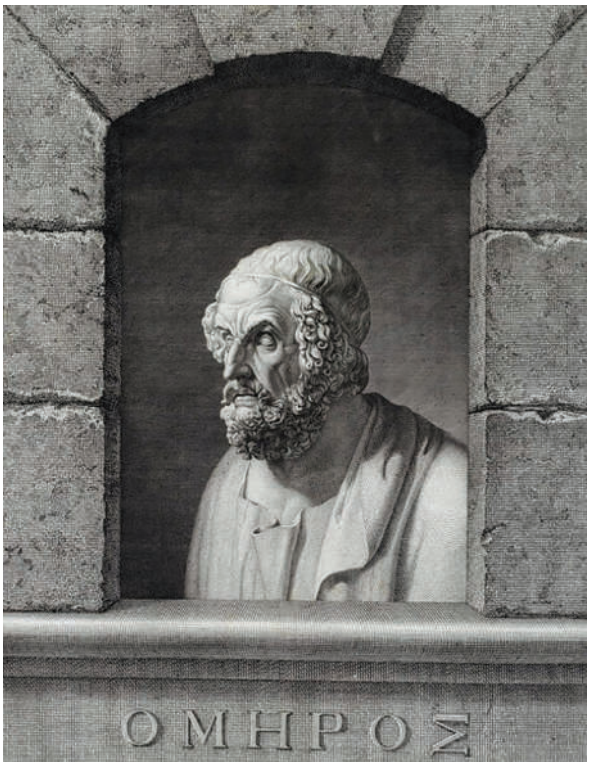

Figure 6.9 *Head of Homer in the Farnese collection, as engraved by Tischbein; after Heyne and Tischbein 1801: 10.*

Epimenides (Fig. 6.10 a–b) (Visconti 1821: 126–8: pl. 21; for his further comments on identifying Homer, see Visconti 1823: 55–69). The latter piece could not represent Homer, he argued, or Tiresias, because it did not manifest a state of blindness. Already, then, the mixed visual messages concerning Homer's eyesight were causing iconographical problems.

It was not long before an overtly medical study came forth – from Hugo Magnus, Professor of Ophthalmology at Breslau University, and also an

Figure 6.10a–b *Marble head of Homer (Epimenides type) in the Vatican.*

expositor of ancient knowledge about the eye and its maladies.[15] As an eye specialist, Magnus was naturally curious to know what kind of blindness had afflicted the poet: we shall discuss his diagnosis shortly. Meanwhile, some of his compatriots had added to the attribution of Homer images: most notably Paul Arndt, the Munich-based scholar and collector, who in Rome c. 1890 came across a head similar to that in the Vatican proposed as Epimenides by Visconti (Fig. 6.11). It was in 1890, as it happened, that Franz Winter declared the latter piece to be an image of Homer, and did so in no uncertain terms.[16] Not long after Arndt donated his find to the Munich Glyptothek (in 1892), it attracted a similarly dogmatic conviction. 'Can be no one other than Homer', reads the entry in Furtwängler's descriptive catalogue of 1910.[17]

J. J. Bernoulli compiled his *Griechische Ikonographie* at the end of the nineteenth century (Bernoulli 1901). He established that there was a 'blind type' of Homer, of which he listed twenty-one examples, leading with several busts in the Capitoline. Bernoulli, seeing the influence of Lysippos in this type, dated its original to the third century BC, and was inclined to locate a probable place of origin as Alexandria, known as a city of *Homerkultus*. Whether it belonged to a sitting or a standing statue remained an open question, but in any case this type might be associated

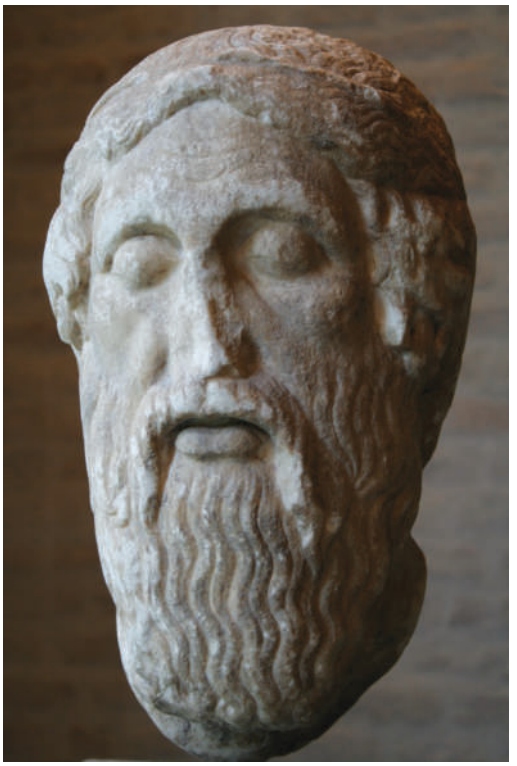

Figure 6.11 *Marble head of Homer (Epimenides type) in the Glyptothek, Munich.*

with an ekphrastic passage from Christodorus, a fulsome testimony to a bronze on view in the Baths of Zeuxippos in Constantinople c. 500 AD.

'Other types' were also collected by Bernoulli – heads with erstwhile identifications as Apollonius of Tyana, Epimenides, and Hesiod or Sophocles.[18] Bernoulli was aware that the statue of Homer mentioned by Pausanias as one of the dedications by Mikythos at Olympia (V.26.2) must belong to the first half of the fifth century BC, so a pre-Alexandrian image ought to have left some traces. But was the so-called Epimenides type intended to show blindness, somnolence or some sort of poetic trance? And how could it be proved as an image of Homer? The late Otfried Deubner, himself a sceptic, recalled the painful scene at a Munich archaeological seminar, in 1930, when a young Roland Hampe passionately defended the Homer identification, and was reduced to tears by the scorn of Carl Weickert, presiding (Deubner 1998: 489). Nonetheless, this type became canonised as the earliest image of the poet when the 'definitive' modern corpus of Homer portraits was assembled in 1939 by brothers Erich and Robert Boehringer (Boehringer and Boehringer 1939).

The motivations of scholarship are sometimes worth digression, and this is such a case. The Boehringers belonged to the 'circle' (*Kreis*) gathered around the charismatic/enigmatic figure of Stefan George, whose other disciples included the three Stauffenberg brothers. George was a poet who exuded the gift of mantic utterance: even with a superficial knowledge of his verses and teaching, one can understand how he inspired a devotion quite apart from (and, for Claus von Stauffenberg, radically opposed to) that required by National Socialism. Both Robert and Erich Boehringer survived the war to continue their careers as Classical archaeologists, but it is clear that, in Robert's case particularly, George's spiritual influence lingered long after his demise in 1933. Hellenic inspiration was germane to the aristocratic 'sacred' or 'secret' Germany that George sought to cultivate. In this light, the Boehringers' handsomely produced monograph *Homer: Bildnisse und Nachweise* was a labour of both love and duty. Homer's image was an essential archetype, *das Antlitz des Genius*; it was a presence down the centuries to be cherished by humanist soulmates (and Robert Boehringer himself owned a specimen of the so-called Epimenides type).[19]

The fourfold grouping outlined by the Boehringers made the Epimenides type relate to a Severe-style original of c. 460 BC – conceivably, then, derived from the statue at Olympia seen by Pausanias. Then came a 'Modena type', represented by two small bronze busts in Modena (Fig. 6.12) and Berlin (Fig. 6.13) – the Modena bust inscribed OMĒROS – from an original supposed to be of c. 430 BC.[20] A third category, deriving its title from an earlier case of mistaken identity, was the 'Apollonius of Tyana type', with over a dozen examples based on an original of c. 300 BC. Like the Modena type, this portrait implied no evident blindness in its subject. The 'Hellenistic blind type' came c. 100 BC, with blindness indicated by heavy, almost half-closed eyelids – conceivably the condition known clinically by the Greek term *ptosis*, 'falling' – along with other signs of extra-ocular muscle deterioration, and no apparent marking of pupils (Fig. 6.14). Distress of sight, however, does not make this image pathetic; a slightly open mouth is not

Figure 6.12 *Bronze head, inscribed as Homer, in the* Deposito *of the Galleria Estense, Modena.*

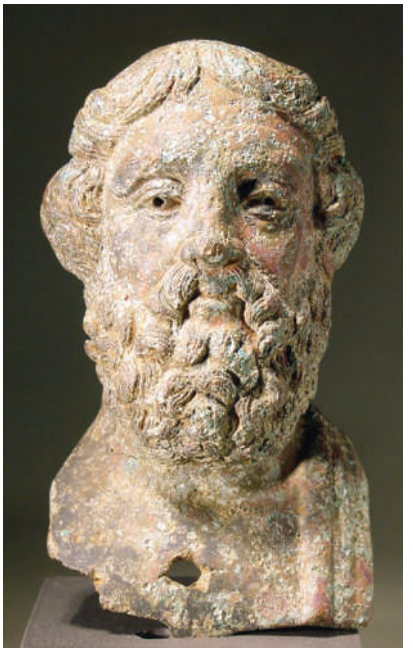

Figure 6.13 *Bronze head of Homer in the Antikensammlung, Berlin (Misc. 8091). Photo: Norbert Franken.*

Figure 6.14 Aristotle Contemplating a Bust of Homer: *title given to a painting by Rembrandt, 1653. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photo: courtesy the Trustees.*

part of the condition, rather indicative of rhapsodic possession. Gisela Richter, adopting the Boehringers' typology without demur in her triple-volume *The Portraits of the Greeks* (1965), summarises the effect:

> The expression is abstracted, as if inspired. It is clear that it is an invented portrait, an imaginary Homer, realistically rendered in the style of the late Hellenistic age, presumably of the second century BC, contemporary with the Pergamene altar, the Laokoon, and the pseudo-Seneca portrait.[21]

The notion of an 'invented portrait . . . realistically rendered' is not quite paradoxical: an effect of resemblance was obviously desirable. But how could such fiction be convincing – if it were not consistent?

Variants of a visage

Portraiture in Classical Athens was routinely a posthumous process (for political reasons), so while the image of Themistocles (known only from a copy) created c. 460 BC may be described as 'the first true portrait of an

individual European that we have' (Robertson 1975: 187), it is doubtful that Themistocles ever 'sat' for the sculptor. The bust of Themistocles was an 'invented portrait' – albeit invented conceivably on the basis of verbal reports, and perhaps even some extant sketches 'from life'. So Aglaophon may have painted Alcibiades, Pausias Glycera, and Apelles Alexander; yet the development of portraiture in Classical antiquity proceeded with the primary aim of creating, or meeting, expectations of how such-and-such a person should 'look', whether it be an honoured Athenian general or some scowling Cynic. As Luca Giuliani has shown (1997), with regard to the image of Socrates, the process was somewhat akin to the artifice of creating a 'Photofit' or *Phantombild* in modern criminal investigation. Even the 'veristic' style that characterises portraiture of the Roman Republic – some would say, of the Hellenistic period generally – tends to be regarded as just that: a *style*, not necessarily indicative of attention to actual appearance.

In this sense, crafting the portrait of Homer was by a procedure not very different from crafting the portrait of, say, Demosthenes: the sculptor worked from sources that did not always include the person to be represented. For reasons that will become clearer shortly, we should keep in mind the early modern device of using a model, or even a 'lookalike'. But let us first consider the particular problem caused by Homer *in absentia*, which is that by the time of the Second Sophistic, at least, it was accepted that legends about the life and person of Homer were various, inconsistent and partly incredible.[22] Crucially, the question of his blindness remained open. The poet had himself drawn the character of a blind rhapsode, Demodocus, in book VIII of the *Odyssey*: but this was not overtly a self-portrait. Reference to a 'blind man, living on rocky Chios, whose songs will always be the best', in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, could be interpreted as an allusion to Homer (thus Thucydides III.104), but was enigmatic and arguable, nevertheless.[23] Ancient commentators, appreciating the graphic quality of Homer's narratives, logically wondered how a sightless poet could have absorbed such a wealth of visual detail.[24] Speculation about the issue ranged from commonsense reasoning to theology. Might Homer have become blind only in his senior years? (Perhaps, as one suggestion went, he was punished as a result of Helen's anger at her portrayal as an adulteress.) Or: if he received his words directly from the Muse, what need had he of ordinary eyesight?

As already mentioned, analysis of certain physiological aspects of Homer's sculpted appearance by reference to ophthalmic conditions is not impossible. With a view to one example of the 'Hellenistic blind type' (Fig. 6.15), we might quote a definition of senile ptosis: 'brow elevated because of frontalis muscle overaction which attempts to raise the lid by raising the eyebrow' (Spalton et al. 1984: section 2.6). The medical explanation, to a non-expert, seems quite plausible. Hugo Magnus, who had proper clinical expertise, gave his opinion that a paralysis of the left lateral *nervus facialis* – one of the neurological circuits controlling facial expression – was evident in the Munich head. But Magnus was sensitive to the implications of accrediting an artist with accurate representation

Figure 6.15 *Marble head of Homer (Hellenistic blind type) in the Capitoline Museums, Rome (inv. 557).*

of a pathological condition. How could the sculptor have achieved this, without study of some living person who displayed those traits of blindness (Magnus 1896: 55f.)?

A caution about such inquiries is sounded by the first, and last, ancient description of a portrait of Homer – as mentioned, by Christodorus, from Coptos in Egypt, who apparently visited Constantinople c. AD 500. Christodorus may not be considered one of the most distinguished poets of late antiquity. But he was a poet nonetheless, given to the epic mode; accordingly, he salutes a full-length bronze statue of Homer on display at the Baths of Zeuxippos with filial affection: 'Companion of Apollo, my father, a godlike man'. Christodorus gives the statue special attention, with some forty lines of descriptive praise. But what were the distinctive features of the portrait? Alas, beyond evoking the statue's patriarchal and benevolent effect, Christodorus does not help us to refine our criteria for determining how far it corresponds to any of the established four types of Homer portrait.[25] He says it was lifelike, yet seemingly fashioned by a deity (Athena). It showed a man who was old, yet full of grace (*charis*). His head was inclined, as if to heed the Muse, and with an 'endearing countenance' (*himeroenti prosōpōn*). His beard was broad, not pointed;

his hair loose about a bare forehead. Christodorus says that Homer's eyebrows were prominent. But then he adds the line that must frustrate our hopes of resolving the issue of blindness. Homer was sightless, declares Christodorus – 'yet to look at he was not like a blind man' (*all'ouk ēn alaō enaligkios andri noēsai*).

The inclusion of this sentiment may rule out the possibility that Christodorus saw an image of Homer of the Epimenides type. (Whether the eyelids of that statue type denote a figure sightless, asleep or lost in poetic concentration, they are nonetheless unusual, and surely would have provoked some remark from our Byzantine witness.) Nor, perhaps, was it the Modena type, which shows a mature but not venerably aged man. (Whether two small bronzes suffice to establish a 'type' must be questionable; but a proposal to consider them as merely variants of the Epimenides type is not very convincing.)[26] What, then, of the Apollonius type? A recent addition to the exemplars of this category, donated to the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, offers us the opportunity to reassess its coherence (Fig. 6.16) (Kaltsas 2009: 349–57; Tsangari 2011: 182). A substantial headband or *strophion* crowns a head of thick hair descending over the forehead and each side of the poet's ears. His beard too is luxuriant, with S-shaped

Figure 6.16 *Head of Homer (Apollonius type) in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens (inv. 15378).*

curls flowing from a moustache and meeting below the mouth. Nasolabial furrows are pronounced. The brow is knitted, in a meditative expression, and the eyes appear to have both iris and pupil carved to convey an upward gaze. This Athens example is rather battered; but if it were once like others of the type, it did not represent a markedly old man. It does not seem to represent a younger version of the 'Hellenistic blind type'. It simply offers a different image of Homer.

Sceptics may wonder if the original prompt for 'recognising' Homer in this 'Apollonius' type – coin issues of Amastris, inscribed with Homer's name, plus the statue, now lost, known to Orsini – holds good. A small-scale, two-dimensional image seems hardly sufficient for the association. Let us continue, however, with tradition, and accept that this was a distinct option for visualising Homer – 'a Homer with eyesight, from the beginning of the third century BC' (Poulsen 1923: 45). Perhaps, as has been suggested (Schröder 1993: 92–5), this was the type signalled by a Second Sophistic source ('Pseudo-Lucian') as installed at, or nearby, the gymnasium-library known as the Ptolemaion in Athens (*Demosthenous Enkomion*, 2: the facility, not far from the Agora, is thought to have been endowed by Ptolemy III c. 224 BC). It may or may not have been the sort of Homer seen by Christodorus in Constantinople – my feeling is that the age is not quite right – but in any case, this Homer was evidently acceptable in Hadrianic times, and beyond: some surviving examples look to be of a late second- or third-century AD date. Christodorus describes a figure senior in years, his hair thin or receding on top, with hollowed cheeks and eyes deep-set. We cannot say anything about the body; of the four classified portrait heads, it is the Hellenistic blind type that would appear to correspond most closely to those specifications. But how coherent is that category?

Commentators are more or less agreed that the Hellenistic blind type belongs stylistically to 'the Hellenistic Baroque', though few might want to go so far as to judge that one example of the type (see Fig. 6.19 below) could have come from the same Rhodian sculptors who produced the Laocoon Group (Moreno 1994: 640–4). Even upon a head in battered and abraded condition, its essential features are recognizable (Ambrogio et al. 2008: 58–9). An inscribed statue-base from Pergamon (*IvP* 203) may have hosted the original image. Surveying a sample of this type, however, we find that it is far from offering a standard formula. Some variations, it is true, are due to carving techniques. Where the sculptor has been liberal in the use of the fixed drill, for example, the facial hair can become an intricate mass (Fig. 6.17). But coiffure differs in style and substance too. Mostly the hair is combed forward to the brow, and a single lock makes a crescent beneath the poet's fillet. But sometimes the dome of his head is uncovered, sometimes not. As for the ringlets about his ears, these vary considerably in mass, volume and curliness. They are all somewhat fantastic, from a realist's point of view: at least, one does not often see an old man whose hair is thin on top sporting such vigorous growth about his ears. A head in the Prado shows a relatively restrained treatment (Fig. 6.18); the British

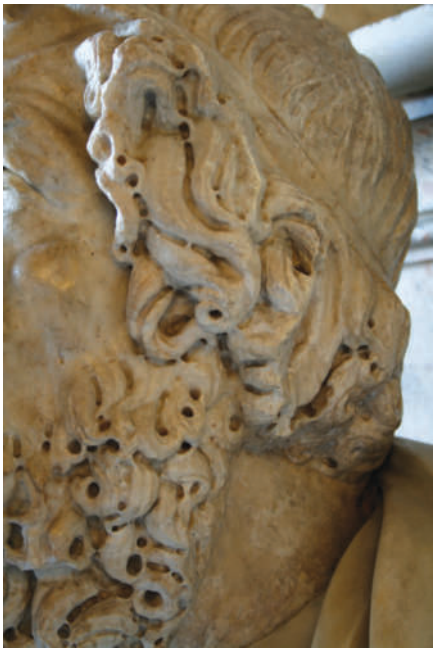

Figure 6.17 *Detail of a bust of Homer in the Capitoline Museums, Rome (inv. 557).*

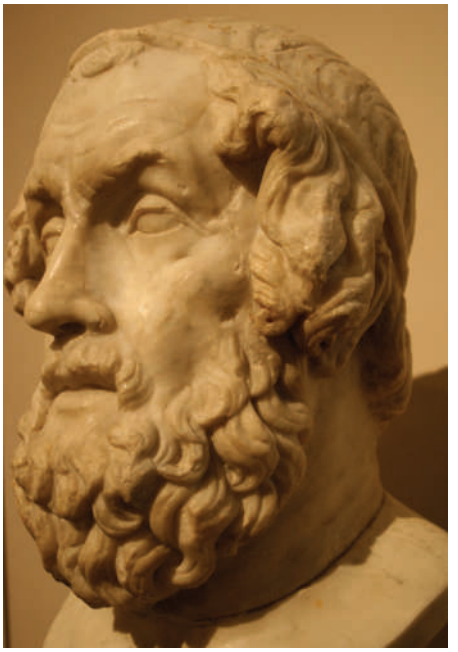

Figure 6.18 *Detail of a bust of Homer in the Prado Museum, Madrid (inv. E00076).*

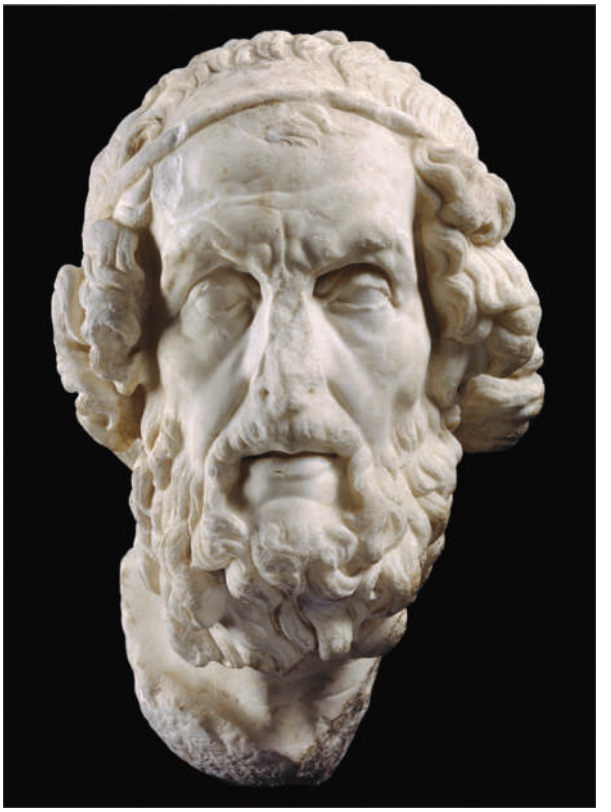

Figure 6.19 *Marble head of Homer in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (inv. 04.13). Photo: Copyright © 2016 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*

Museum version, with its outsize 'bangs' (see Fig. 6.8 above), verges on the comical; while a fine example in Boston most clearly locates this portrait type within the 'Baroque' mode of the Pergamene Great Altar (Fig. 6.19).

The mouth, too, is subject to variation – lips slightly apart, or closed – and also the eyebrows, joining those striations of the brow regarded as characteristic of 'high-mindedness' (*to hypsēlonoun*). With a few sculpted tweaks of emphasis here and there, the effect of the Hellenistic blind type can seem to move from passionate anxiety (Fig. 6.20) to sour disgruntlement (Fig. 6.21). So we see that within this type there was the glyptic latitude to convey a variety of expression and demeanour – thus to individualise or 'subjectivise' the type.

Four types of Homer; and within those types, let us say, 'room for manouevre'. In short, the 'mask' of Homer was elastic and adaptable: and we should now advance some speculation as to why such flexibility remained desirable.

Figure 6.20 *Detail of a head of Homer in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen (inv. 2818).*

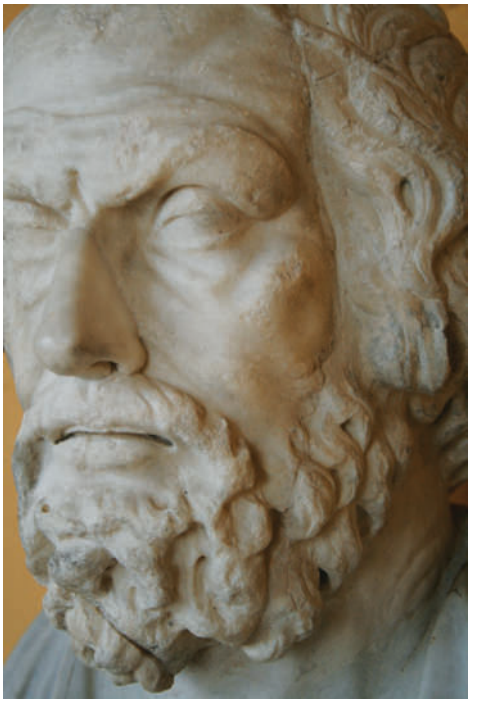

Figure 6.21 *Detail of a head of Homer in Wilton House, near Salisbury.*

'Homer the classic'

We know that the cult of poets, generally, became woven into the religious fabric of certain Greek cities, and, eventually, of certain Hellenistic kingdoms, notably at the court of Ptolemaic Egypt (Clay 2004). And the 'apotheosis' of Homer was hardly metaphorical: if the poet assimilates iconographically to Zeus – as he does, especially on some coin issues – that may be associated with the routine appellation of *theios Homēros*, 'divine Homer', and a theological development of the Muses as 'daughters of Zeus' who confide their gifts to privileged mortals – pre-eminently Homer and Hesiod (Pinkwart 1965: 169–73). *Theos oud' anthrōpos Homēros*, 'Homer was god not man', became a catchphrase of the schoolroom; Socrates, albeit disapprovingly, could refer to Homer as *the* original source of learning (*prōtos didaskalos*) and 'the educator of all Greece' (*tēn Hellada pepaideuken*) (Plato, *Rep.* 606E; Robb 1994: 228–33). So much seems like the reverence due to canonical texts within the system of Classical *paideia*. But keeping Homer's work 'alive' was an emphatically active process.

The Ephesian rhapsode Ion is eponymous to one of Plato's slighter dialogues. Yet Plato's vignette of Ion adds some valuable insights to our

understanding of how Homer's poetry was sustained as 'Classic' in antiquity. Fresh from a rhapsodic *agōn* at Epidaurus – where, in front of an audience of 20,000, he won the crown – Ion is an overt professional, unashamedly specialised in the art of Homeric recitation. To describe it as 'recitation', however, understates Ion's art. Ion believes that he brings a particular expertise to Homer's words, an expertise that he could not, he says, claim for any other poet, and which justifies his pride in bringing 'adornment' (*kosmēsis*) to the epic (Plato, *Ion* 530d). As Socrates then presses him to admit, Ion's pre-eminent status as an *epainetēs* – 'expositor' or 'eulogist' of Homer – is not based upon a distinct rhapsodic *technē*. Rather, it comes by inspiration, or even 'divine power' (*theia de dynamis*), transmitted in a continuous sequence of 'possession' (*enthousiasmos*) originating with Homer's own Muse (Plato, *Ion* 533d-e; on the connotations of *epainetēs*, Capuccino 2005: 161ff.).

Nagy has shown how important it was, perhaps since the first Panathenaic festival of 566 BC, for recitals of Homer's words to be suitably 'performed'.[27] We distrust 'hypocrisy'; but to impersonate, or 'answer', *hypokrinesthai*, was once a cherished skill. A delivery of Homeric epic required more than just elevated diction: dramatically, as a good *hypokritēs*, the rhapsode should pretend to *be* Homer. This histrionic skill, well attested in Classical Athens, enjoyed Panhellenic and then Hellenistic diffusion: Demetrius of Phaleron is thought to have established *Homēristai* at Alexandria (Nagy 1996: 159–82).

There was a guild of 'Homeridai' on Chios: vaunting descent from the poet, they appear to have been involved in adjudicating Homeric performance at the Panathenaia, and supplied performers at the Panionian festivals (Ion, too, mentions that his victory at Epidauros was conferred by certain *Homēridai*). The claim of these Chian Homeridai to be of the bloodline seems not to have been so strong as to settle disputes about where Homer belonged. When Ptolemy IV set up a temple for the veneration of Homer at Alexandria, in the last decades of the third century BC, he diplomatically acknowledged no fewer than seven Ionian-Aeolian city-states vying for the honour of being Homer's birthplace.[28]

From the sixth century onwards, poetic homage to Homer developed in several ways. Most dramatic, perhaps, was the sort of inspirational metempsychosis whereby Homer's spirit migrated to the body of another poet. Stesichoros seems to be our first example of this: 'In his breast the soul that was once Homer's made its home' (*Anth. Pal.* 7.75). Those who shied from such Pythagorean doctrine might lodge a simpler claim to affiliation or descent. An example is the fourth-century poet Theodektes, himself from Phaselis, in Homer's part of the Aegean, who chose to place his tomb on the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis (c. 340 BC). In Plutarch's time this *mnēma* was dilapidated; but passers-by could still see an image of Theodektes in company with his poetic forebears – conspicuously, Homer (Plut. *Mor.* 837D). The extent of the conceit of Homer as a 'founding father' is drastically indicated by the fate of the Cynic Zoilus, notorious in the Alexandria of Ptolemy II Philadelphus as *Homēromastix*, or 'Homer's Scourge' (Zoilus, not content with making public his critiques of the *Iliad*

and *Odyssey*, allegedly flogged a statue of Homer). Whether Zoilus was eventually crucified (by order of Philadelphus), stoned to death on Chios or burnt alive at Smyrna, his crime, as Vitruvius records, was technically one of parricide (Vitr. *De Arch.* 7, Pr. 4; Lucian, *Imag.* 24 (on the flogging of a statue)).

As we shall see, the concept of Homer's spirit or *psychē* entering the body of one of his rhapsodic *epigonoi* – arguably implied by the discussion developed in the *Ion* – did not recede when the Hellenistic kingdoms, including Troy and Homer's 'homeland(s)', fell under Roman control; quite the contrary. But before pursuing a further phase of poetic veneration and assimilation, it is worth recalling the curious situation alluded to in the introduction to this chapter: that while scholars at the Hellenistic courts were occupied in establishing a canonical text for Homer, the *image* of Homer remained variable. The 'negative' explanation of this – that no one knew for sure what he looked like – seems unconvincing (who, after all, could claim that they knew for sure every word the bard had composed?). So what if there were a 'positive' reason for Homer's flexible appearance, connected, perhaps, to the poetic culture of Homeric performance and impersonation?

A statue of the seated Homer, probably reflected in a number of Aegean coin issues, was part of the Ptolemaic Homereion. This statue may have informed Archelaus of Priene when he produced his well-known 'Apotheosis' relief (Fig. 6.22). If so, we can only conclude that its portrait features

Figure 6.22 *'Apotheosis of Homer' relief by Archelaus of Priene: British Museum.*

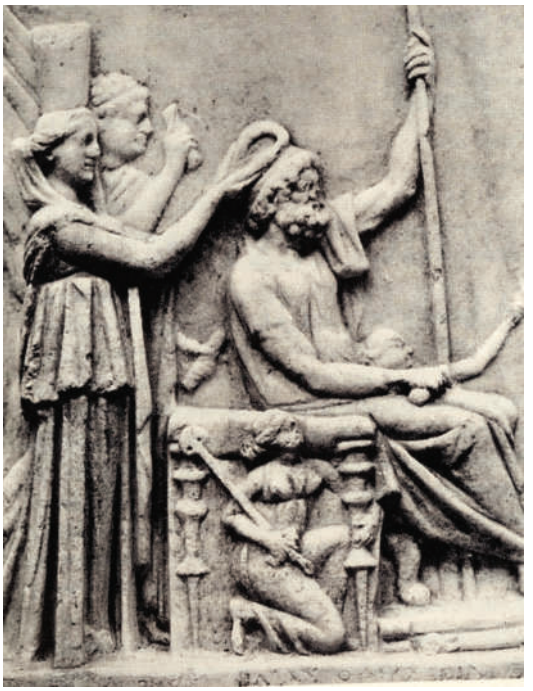

Figure 6.23 *Detail of the 'Apotheosis' relief shown in Figure 6.22.*

failed to create a 'stock' image of Homer. The surface state of the relief is somewhat blurred with age, leading to disagreement amongst commentators as to whether the figures standing behind the poet (Fig. 6.23), though labelled as 'Time' (*Chronos*) and 'The World' (*Oikoumenē*), carry respectively the portrait features of Ptolemy (IV) and his wife Arsinoe.[29] Whether the head of Homer once corresponded to any of the four portrait types of the poet is impossible to determine. But perhaps it was originally so? For if this piece commemorates, as supposed, a victory in some royally sponsored rhapsodic *agōn* at Alexandria, then it makes sense for the figure represented as 'Homer' (inscribed as such) to be essentially ambivalent. The particular honorand of the occasion is thought to be represented by a separate figure in the relief, standing upon a statue-base, before a domed tripod and holding a scroll. But it is the figure of Homer that is being crowned, in a victory labelled as timeless and universal. So the tableau makes visible a theology of poetic inspiration: at the apex, Olympian Zeus; at the base, Homer, seen receiving not only a crown from royalty, but also the sort of sacrificial worship due to a heroised ancestor from ordinary mortals; and, somewhere in between, upon the slopes of the Muses, a tripod-winning poet. The features of Zeus, Homer and this anonymous poet tend to coalesce.

The relief is dated to the late third or early second century BC, but it was recovered in the vicinity of Bovillae, on the Appian Way. A more

precise provenance cannot be established, but in any case we are recalled to the archaeological reality that our material evidence for the image of Homer comes in very large part from the Roman world. This phenomenon demands explanation.

Semper florens Homerus

The conventional dating of originals for the four types of Homer portrait gives us one Severe (Epimenides), one High Classical (Modena), one early Hellenistic (Apollonius) and one Hellenistic Baroque (Hellenistic blind). But the examples of these types are apparently all of Roman date, and often of demonstrable Roman provenance. The temptation would be to argue that a head of Homer, from late Republican times onwards, had become nothing more than a standard accessory of the *homo doctus*, an 'adornment of learning' (Lang 2012), a piece of library furniture; and to suppose, accordingly, that Roman patrons were essentially unconcerned about stabilising a single version of Homer's appearance.[30] The poet's image may even be subsumed into a Hadrianic–Antonine *Zeitgesicht*, a fashionable 'look' for the 'gentleman-scholar' (Borg 2004). But can we put some refinement on that analysis?

One of the first archaeological testimonies regarding the display of Homer's image was the herm from the Villa Aeliana, published, as we have noted, by Orsini in the sixteenth century (see Fig. 6.3 above). Since lost (and never yet matched with a head), the pillar leaves only its epigrammatic record (*IG* XIV 118). Hitherto this inscription has been studied only for its modest literary interest, and its effect in tandem with an inscribed herm of Menander.[31] The three verses begin with a recycled pseudo-epitaph attributed to Antipater of Sidon (*Greek Anthology* 7.6) – yet they also contain clues to our search for an exemplarily 'Roman' use for Homer's image:

[i]
Ἡρώων κάρυκα ἀρετᾶς μακάρων τε προφήταν
Ἑλλάνων δόξης δεύτερον ἀέλιον
Μουσέων φέγγος, Ὅμηρον, ἀγήρατον στόμα κόσμου
παντός, ὁρᾷς τοῦτον, δαίδαλον ἀρχέτυπον.

Herald of the heroes' excellence, prophet of the Blessed Ones,
A second sun for the glory of the Greeks, light of the Muses –
Homer, eternal spokesman of all the world –
Behold him here, in this model of the model poet.

[ii]
Οὐχ ἔθος ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ φράζειν γένος οὐδ᾽ ὄνομ᾽ αὐτό,
νῦν δ᾽ ἕνεκ᾽ Αἰλιανοῦ πάντα σαφῶς ἐρέω·
πατρίς μοι χθὼν πᾶσα, τὸ δ᾽ οὔνομά φασιν Ὅμηρον,
ἔστι δὲ Μουσαίων, οὐκ ἐμόν, οὐδὲν ἔπος.

It's not my custom to reveal my origins, or even my name.
But now, for Aelian's sake, I shall declare them loud and clear:

The whole world is my homeland, and they call me Homer.
All's due to the Muses; not a line comes from me.

[iii]
Εἰ μὲν θνητὸς ἔφυς, πῶς ἀθάνατόν σε ἐποίησαν
Μοῦσαι καὶ Μοιρῶν νῆμα ἀνέκλωσαν, ἄναξ;
Εἰ δ᾽ ἦσθα ἀθάνατος, πῶς ἐν θνητοῖς σε ἀριθμοῦσιν;
Οὐ μά σε ταῦτ᾽ ἐχρῆν, σεμνὲ ποιητά, φρονεῖν.
ἀλλ᾽ ἔγνων τὸ ἀληθές· ἐπεὶ τὸ σαφὲς διαφεύγει,
ἄνθρωπόν φασιν, θεῖε, σέ, Ὅμηρε, πέλειν.

If you were born mortal, how have the Muses made you deathless, master?
How did they unravel the thread of the Fates?
And if you are immortal, how is it you're counted among men?
I swear by your name, venerable poet, it's a mistake to think so.
But I believe I've found the reason: because the true facts elude us
A man is what you're said to be – divine Homer!

The play of voices in this little trilogy is instructive. The first verse seems like a title or label for the monument, concluding with the instruction, 'you see him here' (*oras touton*), as *daidalon archetypon*: the archetypal poet, to whom all poets are indebted, given sculpted form. So while the portrait is acknowledged as artificial, possibly Archaic in style (as *daidala* were wont to be), it is nonetheless credible, with the sort of authoritative virtual presence one would expect from the image of a deity.[32] Then, as if to confirm the portrait's animation, the next section of the inscription gives it a voice. 'My name is Homer', it declares: but this voice only comes *enek' Ailianou*, 'thanks to', 'for the sake of', 'through' or 'by way of' Aelian. Whether this acknowledges Aelian as sponsor of the herm, or as a particularly sympathetic devotee of Homeric poetry, it suggests that Homer lives on, vicariously, in the precincts of Aelian's villa. The final verses accordingly provide cues for a viewer's response. Given that this is a credible portrait, a 'living' image, it must generate the expected categorical dilemma of anthropomorphic religion: does the herm represent mortal or immortal? And here the learned reaction to the image seems to consist in not being deceived by its 'mortality'. Homer might *appear*, say, as a frail old man, or an intense rhapsode, blind, cantankerous, dishevelled as it may be – yet really, and nonetheless, he belongs in the pantheon.

We know very well that Homer's literary status did not collapse with *Graeca capta*; if anything, by the third century AD, it was more unshakeable than ever. But what happened to the general perception of Homer as an author? Froma Zeitlin describes (2001: 196) his place in the canons of the Second Sophistic as 'both absolutely central and yet oddly unlocatable'. Since the Villa Aeliana inscription belongs to a decapitated herm, we cannot match any of the four portrait types to the sentiment of revelation it contains: 'here is Homer, incarnate, as he really was'. Yet we sense the *function* of the poet's image in this context: a proof of his historical identity, on a par with that of Menander.

Recent work among the archives of archaeological discoveries on the Esquiline allows us to press further claims for an active Roman 'deployment' of Homer's image. We cannot presume that the so-called 'Auditorium of Maecenas', surviving as the sole structural relic of a spacious residential complex, was *the* place where poets gave recitals to an Imperial coterie. But the project of recreating a sort of 'sculpture park' appropriate to the Late Republican/Early Imperial owners of the *horti Maecenatiani*, if not the eponymous proprietor himself, has lately been galvanised by the revelation of evidence to suggest that this was the original site of the Laocoon Group (Volpe and Parisi 2009). The Capitoline's Hanging Marsyas, made florid in red-streaked marble, is another statue that appears to have belonged here; the Capitoline Centaur-Head likewise; and among various other pieces with this provenance is the head of Homer in the Louvre (Fig. 6.24).[33]

For us this may count as a fine example of the Hellenistic blind type: stylistically, then, it arguably harmonises with the Marsyas, the Centaur, and the Laocoon Group. But it is not difficult to imagine a thematic reason for its presence, too. Homer's visage placed adjacent to, even 'looking' towards, the Laocoon? Homer a sombre witness to the fate of Marsyas?

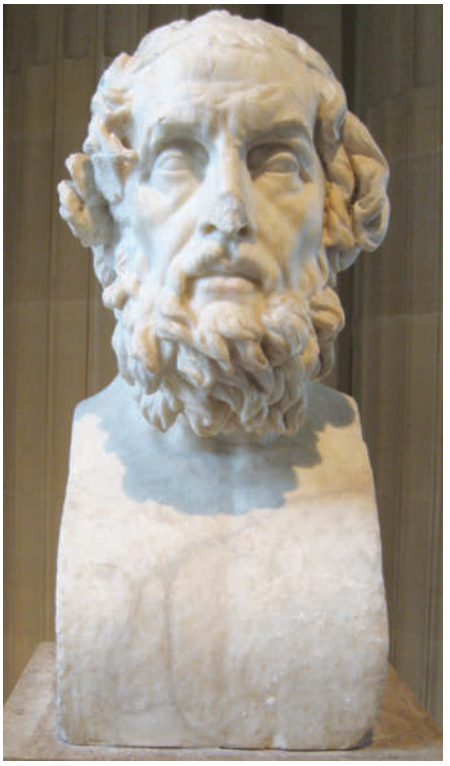

Figure 6.24 *Marble head of Homer in the Louvre, Paris (the 'Caetani head' from the grounds of Palazzo Caetani on the Via Merulana; formerly in the Capitoline Museums).*

As Homer's virtual presence might be evoked upon a *tabula Iliaca*, so his portrait is justified wherever there is some representation of a Trojan or an epic theme. And it was particularly important that Homer, of all ancient Greek poets, be 'realised' as a virtual presence: because within the history of Latin literature, Homer's direct inspirational power was firmly attested. Christodorus, concluding his tour of the Baths of Zeuxippos, will reserve his final ekphrastic salutation for a statue of Virgil, 'whom his native Echo of Tiber nourished to be another Homer' (*allos Homēros*). But the task of conveying Homer to the Latins had begun in the second half of the third century BC with Livius Andronicus and his translation–paraphrase of the *Odyssey*; and the process of becoming a 'born-again' Homer, for which the term 'emulation' seems inadequate, was dramatised by Ennius, 'father of Roman poetry', in the early second century BC. We have only snatches of the Proem to the *Annales*; enough, however, to testify that Ennius presented himself as Homer reincarnate. *Visus Homerus adesse poeta*: Homer came to Ennius in a dream. So the transaction was made – giving to scholars ever after the satisfaction of revealing the many 'Homerisms' within the style and diction of Ennius, and to Petrarch the opportunity of completing the fragmentary narrative of apparition.[34]

It was Lucilius who hailed Ennius as *alter Homerus*; by the time of Horace this title had become a rather tiresome critical cliché, as if the onus of identifying *alter Homerus apud nos* descended inevitably upon each successive generation of Latin poets. Yet the ambition did not fade: still bright (or at least rekindled during the Second Sophistic), it finds a late but nonetheless lively expression in Quintus Smyrnaeus, whose early occupation as shepherd in the pastures around Smyrna marked him for the almost irresistible career move of becoming *novus Homerus* (see Bär 2007).

Whether some of the many variations of the 'look' of Homer are due to this process of emulation and resemblance we can only wonder. It seems possible that, just as the features of Sophocles could be suggestive of Homer, so some would-be *epigonos* of the Second Sophistic might cultivate an appropriate beard or coiffure. Or else the erudite proprietor of a villa may have exercised a sort of personal or familial appropriation of the poet, commissioning a bust that rendered Homer as an honorary addition to the *imagines maiorum*. In any case, the fluidity of Homer's image served to affirm the bard's undying presence. *Semper florens Homerus*, 'Homer forever flowering': to a degree extraordinary amongst the many worthies of ancient Greece, Homer's portrait matched his regenerative power.

'The genius of Homer was an unmatched, but not an exclusive one' (Snodgrass 1998: 10). Just so: it was a gift to be shared. My own conviction is that the sharing process began early, and that artists from c. 700 BC onwards were involved in distributing enthusiasm for Homer's stories, in various media. But that is a different debate. We may agree, at least, that artists eventually repaid their debts to Homer by constructing an image of him that had the paradoxical power of being both definitive and flexible.

Notes

In this chapter, ancient texts are referred to according to the abbreviations of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. All photographs are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

1. Thus Powell 1991 and the 'Optimists' targeted by Snodgrass 1998. Division on the topic persists: see e.g. Langdon 2008; Lowenstam 2008; and *encore* Snodgrass 2008.
2. Squire 2011: 404; see also Petrain 2014: 18. For discussion of the scene, and comparison with similar representations, see Jahn and Michaelis 1873: 58–9 and Sadurska 1962.
3. For references see Richter 1965: 45–6 and Clay 2004: 136–43.
4. Dillon 2006: 28, noting Juvenal's swipe at the pretensions of uneducated (*indocti*) Romans, filling their houses with *gypso Chrysippi* - plaster effigies of the Stoic worthy (*Sat.* II.4–5).
5. Mackert 2009: 152. I am grateful to Christoph Mackert for also sending me the text of a lecture given by him in Leipzig (May 2009), 'Antike Literatur in Leipziger Handschriften des Mittelalters'.
6. Various manuscripts of Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* exist, with various maps and commentaries: I have seen only a facsimile of that preserved in the Universität- und Landesbibliothek Düsselfdorf, Ms. G 13 (Siebert and Plassmann 2005); for variants, see Turner 1987: 47–71; note also Weiss 1969: 137. A manuscript in Ravenna adds the following to Buondelmonti's text regarding Homer: 'He was a man of noble proportions, fair of countenance, fair in colour with a large head and dignified mien, and on his face he had the scars of smallpox. He was born 560 years after Moses. He lived for 108 years and, when he was unable to answer some silly questions put to him by the inhabitants who then laughed at him, he became confused and gave up the ghost.' (This seems to be a garbled reference to the story, originally in the Pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer*, of Homer's death occurring after his failure to understand a riddle thrown at him by some fishermen.) The latest images of Homer from Classical antiquity appear to be the Monnus Mosaic in Trier (late third century AD) and a panel in *opus sectile* from Kenchreai (c. 370 AD). A fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Iliad*, annotated by Theodore Antiochites, and known to Poliziano, includes an image of Homer, shown flourishing a scroll with the opening lines of the *Iliad*: see Pontani 2005. Identification of Homer from an antique model was perhaps not yet possible c. 1510, when Raphael depicted the poet in his fresco of 'Parnassus', in the Vatican's Stanze della Segnatura: a preparatory drawing in Windsor looks to be derived from the Laocoon (brought to light in 1506); see Clayton 1999: 73–4. For more on Homer's image in post-antique art, see Moormann 2004; 2006.
7. Ursinus 1570: 20. (Aristogeiton was represented only by a headless herm: the 'Tyrant-Slayers' group was not then known.)
8. Allatius [*sic*] 1640: 27 (Allatios also claimed to have seen, and shed tears at, the ruins of Homer's house on Chios). The allusion to Asinius Pollio is made presumably on account of Pollio's reputation as patron of the *Atrium Libertatis* – an art gallery and library at the foot of the Capitol, famously open to public access; the library furnished with images of great writers (*NH* XXXV.10). Sculptors in seventeenth-century Rome may of course have added to the quantity testified by Allatios.

9. Although the picture's original owner, Don Antonio Ruffino of Messina, who was an antiquarian, seems not to have recognised the bust as Homer: see Schama 1999: 582–94 (with further literature). Rembrandt possessed a cast of the Farnese Homer: Moormann 2006: 230.
10. See Hallen 1888 and Moore 2007. Moore describes the folio volumes of Lavater's project as 'the greatest coffee-table book of the eighteenth century' (2007: 168).
11. Hackert 1973: 39; original publication in Lavater 1775: 244–6. For the identification of Goethe's hand in this passage, see Hallen 1888: 100–10.
12. See Schefold et al. 1997: 272; cf. Andreae 2001: 152. In a letter to Lavater dated November 1784, Goethe mentions a silhouette (drawn by himself, probably), and adds some poetic praise of the features of *der Farnesische*: see Mandelkow 1962: 174–5 (Mandelkow's note on p. 613 must be wrong in glossing *der Farnesische* as the Farnese Hercules).
13. Harding 2008; cf. Dillon 2006: 124–5. As Harding's title indicates, an early description of the Arundel sculptures (in 1632) seems to refer to the piece not as a head of Homer, rather as some Hellenistic monarch (Philip V is suggested). The piece has no association with a now decapitated draped marble figure from the Arundel collection, latterly on loan to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: Haynes 1975: pl. 4. Apparently complete with head in the seventeenth century, this figure was sketched and labelled as 'Homer' by several artists, including Rubens: see Haynes 1974.
14. Combe et al. 1815: pl. 39 ('The nose is longer and sharper, the cheeks are not so hollow. The face is less wrinkled, and the hair is closer to the head, and more equally distributed over it; it also exhibits in a less degree the mildness of character which distinguishes the countenance of Homer'). Pindar was suggested instead; eventually Sophocles – thus Lenormant 1841. The 'Type IV Sophocles' identity (Richter 1965: 130–1) remains rather unconvincing, as reflected in the British Museum's current label for the piece. As for Townley's acquisition, it was 'published' by way of an engraving by John Brown, winning much admiration, signally from Richard Payne Knight – ''tis the first engraved Head of the old Bard that looks like a great Poet instead of a blind ballad singer': cited in Coltman 2009: 245.
15. Magnus 1896. On ancient eye medicine more generally Magnus compiled a two-volume survey, *Die Augenheilkunde der Alten* (1901), translated as *Ophthalmology of the Ancients* (1998–9).
16. An identification made *en passant* in Winter 1890: 164, but nonetheless *ex cathedra*: 'Die Deutung dieses Kopfes auf Homer ist so selbstverständlich, dass sie keiner Erörterung bedarf.'
17. 'Der würdige blinde Mann, den unser Kopf darstellt, kann niemand anders als Homer sein': Furtwängler 1910: 297–8. The head was allegedly used as a footrest by an old lady selling chestnuts outside a Roman *osteria*: Albizzati 1926: 193. Full discussion in Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979: 36–48, to which add Voutiras 1980: 54–62, and Weber 1991. For Weber (1991: 205) the head displays 'spaltbreit geöffnete Augen' – eyes just ajar. To add to the list of Epimenides types (Richter 1965: 47), perhaps a battered head in Heraklion Museum, though I have not seen it: Boehringer 1957.
18. 'Overlap' between Homer (Apollonius type) and Sophocles (Farnese type) is a recurrent observation in the historiography of Greek literary portraits: see e.g. Poulsen 1931: 94. A Capitoline bust of Sophocles with 'the eyes treated as if blind' (Richter 1965: 126, no. 8: inv. M560) compounds the problem.

If the argument of this chapter is accepted, however, then the phenomenon of a Sophocles image 'assimilating' to the likeness of Homer ought not to come as a surprise.

19. The depth of the Boehringers' involvement with the *Georgekreis* is made plain by Robert Boehringer's reverential memoir (1951). For the Boehringer Homer head: Albizzati 1926; Boehringer and Boehringer 1939: 40ff; Richter 1965: 47 (no. 6); Dörig 1975: 238.
20. The Modena head, kept in the *Deposito* of the Galleria Estense, has the value of an inscription. But is the piece ancient? First documented in the collection of Tommaso degli Obizzi at Padua c. 1800, it passed into the possession of Francis IV of Habsburg-Este in 1822: that is all we know. No metallurgical or technical analysis has yet been made. It seems, however, unlikely to be an early modern invention. See Latacz et al. 2008: 295–6. 'The head is serious, measured, thoughtful – but without greatness, and without obvious 'fire' [*sichtliches Feuer*]" (Boehringer 1939: 132). Introducing the very similar bronze *Köpfchen des Homer* in Berlin, acquired in 1888 'from Elis' (Olympia?), Furtwängler was content to describe it loosely as 'a bearded Greek, probably a philosopher' (1889: 93). Boehringer judged both pieces to be from the same workshop; in any case, the existence of the Berlin piece may be sufficient to show that the Modena head is authentic. (Whether the inscription belongs originally is another matter.)
21. Richter 1965: 52–3. Published on the eve of war, the Boehringers' book was not widely reviewed; but their classification was soon accepted, e.g. in Laurenzi 1941.
22. E.g. Ps. Lucian, *In Praise of Demosthenes*, 9; Pausanias X.24.3. The literature is surveyed in Gigante 1996; its iconographical consequences partially explored in Graziosi 2002: 126ff. The scholarly game of deducing Homer's own habitat from ethnographic hints in his text predates the Second Sophistic: when Aristodemus of Nysa, in the first century BC, argued that Homer was a Roman, it was surely a *reductio ad absurdum* of such speculation; see Heath 1998.
23. Whether the Hymns were the work of Homer was debatable by the time of Athenaeus (22B); and an ancient tradition attributed the *Hymn to Apollo* (which may be an amalgam of two Archaic poems) to a certain Kynaithos of Chios: Janko 1982: 102, 113–15.
24. E.g. Ps.-Plutarch, *Peri Omerou* [B], 217; Cic. *Tusc.* V.39.114; cf. Auerbach 1953: ch. 1. *Homerus caecus fuisse dicitur*: a Sophist might observe that while denials of Homer's blindness were also firmly asserted, these did not preclude the onset of blindness in old age; e.g. Vell. Pat. I.5.3: *Quem si quis caecum genitum putat, omnibus sensibus orbus est*.
25. For a sympathetic reappraisal of Christodorus, see Kaldellis 2007; on the programmatic nature of pieces displayed in the Baths of Zeuxippos, Bassett 1996; and Bravi 2014: 269–75. The value of Christodorus' description is somewhat compromised by a later mention, seemingly of the same statue, in the eleventh-century *Historiarum compendium* of George Cedrenus (369D). Christodorus says the figure was holding a staff; Cedrenus says it had hands clasped under the chest – and that its eyes were closed.
26. So Weber 2013: 136 – suggesting that both Modena and Berlin heads are reworkings of the Epimenides type done in Roman Republican times. But quite apart from their giving Homer open eyes, the beard is also rendered differently.

27. Pl. *Ion* 532d7: further, see Nagy 2002; 2003: 37. The Athenian part in fabricating an historical identity for Homer seems to have been crucial: thus West 1999.
28. Aelian, *VH* XIII.22: personifications of the cities were evidently placed around an image of the poet. The places are not named, but surely included Smyrna, Chios, Kolophon and Kyme – in any case, all within Ptolemaic territory at the time. Epigrams in book 7 (1–7) of the *Greek Anthology* indicate that Salamis on Cyprus and Egyptian Thebes were among the claimants for Homeric connection.
29. *Pro*: Webster 1964: 145; *contra*: Pinkwart 1965: 41. Cook 1914: 129ff. collects earlier literature on the relief; further discussion in Newby 2007 and Papini 2008. The numismatic evidence for Homer's image at Alexandria is collected in Esdaile 1912; how this statue differed from a *xoanon* of the poet reported at the Homereion of Smyrna (Strabo XIV. 646) is discussed in Heyman 1982. Evidently there were several different statue-types of Homer seated, as demonstrated by Sadurska 1962: 504–9, in part reflecting rival claims upon his birthplace (by Ios, Smyrna, etc.).
30. Thus Zanker 1996: 9–14, 203ff; recycled in Bottini 2006: 65–77. A similar gloss of 'learned accessory', not necessarily installed with great care or discrimination, prevails in Dillon 2006: 38–57 and Neudecker 1988: 64–74. See also Di Cesare 2011.
31. See Prioux 2008: 123–40. That this suburban villa (situated to the south of the city, between the Via Ostiensis and Via Laurentina) belonged to the Second Sophistic rhetorician Claudius Aelianus ('of Praeneste'), while credible, is not proven.
32. As Ewen Bowie notes, the qualification of *archetypos* with *daidalos* implies that this is an image of Homer both 'cunningly crafted' and yet close to its original source: Bowie 1972: 244–5.
33. The head, removed from the Capitoline by Napoleonic demand in 1797, was incorporated into a garden wall of the Palazzo Caetani, on Via Merulana: cf. Ficoroni 1744: 56. See Häuber 2014: 616ff.
34. Brink 1972. As Skutsch (1968: 6–9) emphasises, describing this episode as a 'dream' undersells the drama. Ennius is possessed by Homer's soul (*thymos*); the 'Homerisms' of his poetry occur not because he is 'imitating' Homer, but because he *is* Homer. See also Skutsch 1985: 147–53. Petrarch's 'writing-up' of the encounter: Pingaud 1872: 9, 141ff.

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Section III

The Archaic and Classical Greek World

7

Potters, *Hippeis* and Gods at Penteskouphia (Corinth), Seventh to Sixth Centuries BC

Bruno d'Agostino and Maria Grazia Palmieri
Translated by Federico Poole with an Appendix by A. C. Cassio

We are here to honour a dear friend and a great mentor. Among many other things, he has taught us respect: respect for the world we are studying, for doubt, for friendship. We are therefore glad of this opportunity to dedicate to him this short synthesis of a study that has engrossed our team for many years now.

The archaeological context of the fictile tablets found at the archaeological site of Penteskouphia, along the Phliasian road at the rear of Acrocorinth, still resists attempts at interpretation. The special interest of this context lies in the fact that it provides lavish evidence for the work of potters. All stages of the work cycle are documented: the extraction of clay from the quarry, the shaping of the vase on the turning wheel, the work at the kiln, from fuelling to watching over the vases in the crucial stages of firing, the finishing and decoration of the vases in the workshop, the loading of the vases onto ships and their transportation by sea.[1]

The complexity of this corpus and the variety of its style, which often stoops to depicting the physical degradation of the craftsman with extreme crudeness, have overshadowed issues related to the nature and characteristics of its archaeological context. When one skims the existing bibliography, one almost gets the impression that the *communis opinio* is that the tablets are a heterogeneous ensemble of images, in which no unified 'programme' can be discerned. We suspect that this impasse is due to the fact that the attention of scholars has been monopolised by the more captivating subject of the tablets themselves.[2] Even scholars who have investigated other aspects of the corpus, whose complexity actually goes beyond the mere depiction of craftsmen, have focused only on individual subjects, as did Geagan (1970), who only examined mythological themes, without relating them to their context.

About the discovery of the *pinakes* in 1905, we only know that they were lying in two small ravines on the west slope of the Penteskouphia

Hill;[3] in this difficult situation, determined by the total lack of information on the structure of the ancient site, useful indications can be drawn from the fact that many *pinakes* are decorated on both faces with different themes, and that these sometimes combine to form a single image. To find a common thread that will help us to make sense of this corpus, the only path is to make the most of the intersections between the different themes. There is no doubt that we are dealing with a homogeneous context, reflecting the accumulation of votive offerings over about a century in a single cult place by the same social group of dedicators. This is proved by the internal consistency of the corpus, which distinguishes it from other contexts of this kind, such as those unearthed in the sanctuaries of Perachora and Isthmia and the 'Potters' Quarter' in Corinth.[4] The last of these – allowing for the limited extension of the excavations conducted in it so far – has yielded nothing more than a few dubious allusions to the world of potters. Even in the few cases when the *pinakes* found there are yielding themes that also occur at Penteskouphia, such as the myth of Bellerophon, the recto–verso combinations typical of Penteskouphia are not present.

The novelty of the present approach lies precisely in the fact that we look at the intertwining of the different themes to make the most of the features of this corpus.[5] We will therefore dwell on this aspect now, even at the cost of having to go over aspects of the evidence that are so well known that they are almost not worth mentioning.

As is well known, all of the *pinakes* found in 1879 were recovered by chance; furthermore the excavation of 1905 was carried out summarily, in only three days, without adding any information that sheds light on them. Any clues as to the position of the *pinakes* and their original purpose can thus be deduced only from their technical characteristics. The clay tablets are very variable in shape. They were decorated, before firing, using the black-figure technique, and were usually fitted with a pair of suspension holes. Other solutions, however, are also observed, such as holes bored at the corners.

The hypothesis that most of these plaques were meant to be hung up does not pose any problem for specimens painted on only one face surmounted by the pair of holes, or even for those painted on both sides, with scenes oriented in the same or opposite directions. In the case of the latter, one can suppose that the visitor, after looking at the image on the front, turned the *pinax* up to look at the image on the back. However, there are cases where the image on the back is rotated by 90°, and thus transversal to the one on the front.

That these are votive gifts is proved beyond doubt by their inscriptions.[6] At Penteskouphia, inscriptions occur pervasively, and are sometimes arranged in such a way as to become an integral part of the picture. As Wachter has shown, the literary competence of the craftsmen is borne out by the occurrence of the complete dedication formula, written in distich form: 'X offered me to king Poseidon / having dedicated my gift, now, you give welcome recompense.' The dedication occurs on *pinakes* with different subjects, and is not always so elaborate. The inscriptions sometimes also occur on *pinakes* of modest or less than modest quality,

and at least in these cases it cannot be imagined that the dedicator could be of any other social class than that of craftsman.

The only way to make these data compatible is to suppose – as has already been suggested – that the *pinakes* were suspended, with a string or similar, possibly from the branches of trees, and thus constituted the humble decoration of an *alsos* (sacred grove). Although the dedicator took care to make the offering in his own name, attention was not addressed primarily to a hypothetical visitor, but to the deity, as the 'contractual' character of the dedications bears out. The existence of *alse* of this kind at Corinth is documented by the well-known case of the Kraneion, mentioned by Pausanias:[7] 'in front of the city there is a cypress grove (*alsos*) called Kraneion. Herein is a sacred enclosure (*temenos*) of Bellerophon and a temple of Aphrodite Melainis', that is, a *temenos* of the hero closely linked to Poseidon, who was the god most venerated at Penteskouphia.[8] *Alse* regularly occur in association with cults of Poseidon, and fit well with the god's strong connection with horses. Onchestos' *poseideion aglaon alsos* in the Homeric hymn to Apollo bears this out (*Hymn* III.229–30; cf. Detienne and Vernant 1974: 190).

But the real nature of the Penteskouphia sanctuary is illuminated by comparison with the celebrated sanctuary of Poseidon Hippios in Mantinea (Pausanias VIII.10.2–3; Moggi and Osanna 2003: 341ff.; Mylonopoulos 2003: 107–11; 2008; Vicent 2007): the setting for both sites is similar. The Corinthian sanctuary occupied a saddle at the foot of Acrocorinth,[9] between this stronghold and the Penteskouphia hillfort; the western edge of Acrocorinth was rich in water, and the saddle at its foot was pierced by ravines. The sanctuary in Mantinea was also not far away from a lake, the Arne 'spring', where Rhea was said to have concealed Poseidon in order to prevent him from being eaten by his father Chronos (Pausanias VIII.8.2); the sanctuary lay below a mountain, the Alesios, and lacked permanent buildings: the first shrine constructed by Trophonios and Agamedes was made of pieces of oak bound together. When Apytos, the son of Hippotoos, penetrated the forbidden part of the shrine, a wave from the sea suddenly appeared and blinded him for his fault. This event powerfully confirms the close relation of Poseidon with sea and subterranean water. The lack of permanent buildings verified at Penteskouphia in the short excavation in 1905 reported by Washburn (1906) may be explained as a characteristic of the shrines dedicated to Poseidon Hippios.

The themes on these *pinakes* are very diverse, but three easily predominate. As noted above, the work of potters is often depicted, especially on the reverse. These scenes are paired, on the main side, with images of deities, especially Poseidon and Athena, or a pair of galloping young riders. These repertoires, however, occasionally intermingle in highly significant ways. The world of the craftsmen sometimes spills over onto the main side of the *pinax*, coming into close contact with the deities and riders. The key to the interpretation of this archaeological context should be sought in the *ratio* whereby different subjects intersect and overlap. For the sake of clarity, we will begin by examining these three worlds separately.

The world of the gods

Poseidon

Poseidon has a predominant role in the Corinthian pantheon, both in the urban and the extra-urban areas (Mylonopoulos 2003: 145ff.). He is also the main deity venerated at Penteskouphia, and *pinakes* are a valuable source for the characteristics of this god at Corinth. The identification of the god is firmly established by the dedications, and often by written captions. This close connection with potters is a typical aspect of the Poseidon of Penteskouphia, which has no parallel elsewhere in Greece, not even in Corinth itself. The only possible mythical ground for this connection would be the tradition, related by Zenon of Rhodes, according to which the god had been raised by the Telchines and mated with their sister Halia (Diod. Sic. V.55 = *FGrHist* 523F1). But this tradition seems to be a local one, limited to Rhodes, and in any case the Telchines were mainly associated with metalworking. Poseidon's connection with the potters may rather depend on his qualification as Hippios, and on the connection between horses, Athena and the kiln, a subject on which we will be elaborating below. The craftsmen of Penteskouphia show such a degree of intimacy with the god that they even dare to portray him in burlesque forms.[10]

At Penteskouphia, Poseidon displays several different aspects of his polyhedral personality (cf. Will 1955; Doyen 2011). He is mainly depicted as lord of the seas, the aspect prevailing in the Isthmian sanctuary (Gebhard 1993; Morgan 1994; 1999); in this role he is represented holding a trident (Geagan 1970: 37ff.), and sometimes a dolphin. It is in this guise that he is portrayed in F485-F765,[11] as the main character among the other gods worshipped in the sanctuary (Fig. 7.1). He is accompanied by a Triton, the only character not identified by a caption, who, with his sinuous figure, turned-back head and chiastic arrangement of the arms, expresses to the utmost the total control of space that distinguishes a marine creature. In front of Poseidon is Amphitrite, who usually accompanies the god (she is sometimes explicitly designated as his *akoitis*; cf. F487). She is followed, in her turn, by Athena, who, as we will see, is the only other deity prevalent in the sanctuary.

Poseidon is also the lord of the chariot. He occasionally appears, with Amphitrite, on a biga or quadriga solemnly moving to the right (Geagan 1970: 33ff.). The scene is sometimes characterised as a true wedding procession by the recurrent gesture of the *anakalypsis* and the presence of Hermes (F494) (Payne 1931: 112). Sometimes the centrality of the god is stressed by the presence of Zeus himself on the carriage.[12]

The association with horses, expressed by the denominations 'Hippios' and 'Damaios', is a structural aspect of the god's personality, which he shares with Athena. The close connection between Poseidon, Athena and the horse is the core of a set of myths delineating the character of these two deities, which share a deep-rooted common matrix.[13] On the mythical plane, the relationship between the two gods is accentuated by their connection with Bellerophon and the invention of the *chalinos* (bit), the *pharmakon prau* that allowed them to tame Pegasus. On the political plane, this relationship

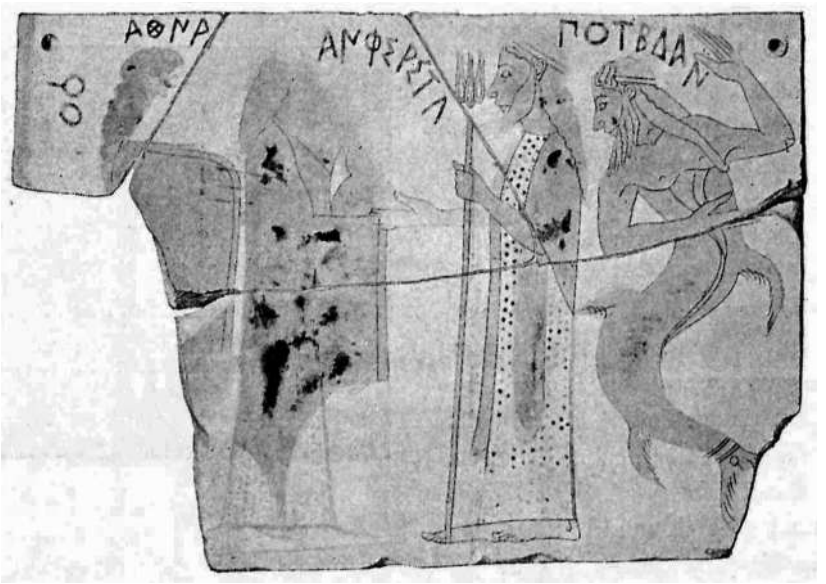

Figure 7.1 *Poseidon, Amphitrite and Athena (F485). From Pernice 1897.*

corresponds to their connection with the *hippeis*. This connection, attested in Corinth by the *pinakes*, is also well documented in Athens, where the god was invoked as *hippios*, along with Athena *hippia*, in a sanctuary pertaining to the *hippeis*, surrounded by an *alsos*.[14]

At Penteskouphia, the trident-wielding god is portrayed as a rider,[15] and his assimilation to a normal *hippeus* is accentuated by the presence of a second horse. Images of Poseidon as a rider also occur from 560 BC onward on Attic pottery, where the god is shown riding a winged horse.[16] We cannot rule out a connection between the appearance of these images, in Athens as well as Corinth, and the reorganisation of the Isthmian games in 582/580 BC (Morgan 1990: 214).

Considering that the dedications on *pinakes*, even those where the god is not depicted, are mostly addressed to Poseidon, we will limit ourselves to pointing out the most significant juxtaposition of subjects to define the system of relationships connecting the deities worshipped in the sanctuary. The fact that Poseidon and Athena sometimes occur on both sides of the same *pinax* (Geagan 1970: fig. 7a–b) proves that they belong within the same reference system, but we will return to this later. The relationship between Poseidon and the craftsmen, and especially the potters, is impressively documented by exemplars where the god is depicted on the same side as the potters at work, as if watching over them and assisting them in their work. An especially remarkable document in this regard is a specimen of very modest artistic quality (K3) showing a bearded figure standing on the stoking tunnel of a kiln (Geagan 1970: 41, fig. 15). The caption *Potedan emi* identifies him as the god himself, who is clearly making sure that the

kiln works properly. On another tablet, a figure with strange headwear is shown in the same position, checking that the kiln is drawing properly, while another subject fuels it (Fig. 7.2). This figure is probably Poseidon, although he is not explicitly identified as such. The same imagery, at a culturally more sophisticated level, returns on a *pinax* painted by Timonidas (F846), who proudly signs himself in the middle of the main side, whereas the dedication, probably not by the artist, is discreetly incised along the left edge (Pernice 1897: 37, fig. 28; Amyx 1988: 201, no. 2, pl. 84, 2a and b).

Sometimes the presence of the god is evoked on the same side where the workers are represented, as in a complex and rightly famous plaque (K15), showing an elaborate scene (see Fig. 7.7 below) of Lokris tending a kiln surmounted by Athena's owl (Pernice 1898). More frequently, the god is shown on the recto of the tablets and the potters at work on the verso. Poseidon and Athena are both evoked on K20 (Fig. 7.3).[17] On the

Figure 7.2 *Poseidon (?) standing on a kiln tunnel (K4).*

Figure 7.3 *Potters and Athena's owl (K20).*

recto is Poseidon, standing and holding the trident, while on the verso two men tend a kiln, with Athena's owl above them. A highly interesting *pinax* (K17) shows on one side Poseidon with the trident, on the other a potter going up a ladder to the top of the kiln (Fig. 7.4a–b).

Figure 7.4a *Poseidon (from AD II). b Kiln (K17).*

Athena

After Poseidon, Athena is the most important deity in the pantheon of Penteskouphia, as borne out by the above-mentioned *pinax* F485-F765, showing the gods worshipped in the local sanctuary (Fig. 7.1 above). She is the only deity, besides Poseidon and Zeus, to whom dedications are addressed.[18] In one case, the dedication is rather an indication of possession (F619-F826),[19] written next to a female figure. On the verso is a man working at a kiln. In another case, Athena is shown on one side of the *pinax*, Poseidon on the other.[20] The image of Poseidon is probably patterned after his Archaic statue. On the other side is a *promachos* figure, accompanied by a dedication to Athena; it seems likely that here, too, what is depicted is the actual statue of the goddess.

It is indeed as *promachos*, armed with a round shield and a lance, that Athena is depicted on the stoking tunnel (F801) (Fig. 7.5), and in another *pinax* she checks that the kiln is drawing properly (F800) (Fig. 7.6). Hers is a warrior spirit. She is indeed the only deity to be depicted in an epic context. In the role of chariot-driver, she turns back to watch the duel of Diomedes and Aeneas over the body of Pandaros, under the eyes of Teucros,[21] and she must also be recognised in the female goddess finishing off a giant (Alkyoneus?) lying down on his back (F834b). She is also evoked by several *pinakes* showing people fighting (Geagan 1970: 43, n. 43).

At Corinth (Geagan 1970: 43; Villing 1997), and especially at Penteskouphia, the goddess is *hippia*, and vies with Poseidon for credit for the invention of the *chalinos*. As *Chalinitis*, she is the subject of a very early cult (Yalouris 1950). Her *temenos* stood on the east side of the street that ran along the east side of the *odeion* and the theatre, not far from the

Figure 7.5a *Athena standing on a kiln tunnel. b Chariot. (F801). Photo: Berlin Museum.*

Figure 7.6 *Athena standing on a kiln tunnel (F800). Photo: Berlin Museum.*

tomb of Medea's children, near the Glauke spring, where the *xoanon* of the goddess was kept, a work by Daedalus made of wood, with face, hands and feet of white marble.[22]

Her relationship with the crafts depends on her mastery of *metis*. At Corinth, however, her relationship with Poseidon and the potter's kiln is mediated by the horse and the *chalinos*, the *damasiphron chrysos*[23] capable of taming, albeit just barely, the demoniac fury of the animal. As Vernant and Detienne have shown through a deeper interpretation of the texts, and especially of the *kaminos* (cf. the appendix to this chapter) – which seems to us to spring up from the same cultural crucible as the *pinakes* – there exists a substantial homology between the kiln and the horse, an animal capable of sudden bursts of fury during which it lets out terrible strident noises. *Hos gnathos brykei, brykei de kaminos*: 'As a horse's jaw grinds, so the kiln grinds.' When the horse is seized by fury, the bit 'prende les apparences inquiétants du feu dont il est le produit' (Detienne and Vernant 1974: 187). With Bellerophon and Poseidon Hippios, Athena 'se manifeste toujours à côté' (ibid.: 189). Poseidon, on the other hand, is himself a deity capable of igniting fury and shaking the ground, as his invocations as Ennosigaios, Enosichthon and Ennosidas reveal. According to one tradition, it was he, not Athena, who invented the *chalinos* (cf. Giangiulio 2011: 48, nn. 45–6). The horse-taming abilities shared by Poseidon and

Athena are the same ones that allow them to tame the harmful genies lurking in the kiln, capable of making it explode in a violent burst of flame. One discerns a trend for the two deities to specialise in different roles in relation to the horse: Athena has 'la maîtrise sur le cheval', while Poseidon 'discipline la fougue ou libère la violence de la creature' (Detienne and Vernant 1974: 199).

The Lokris *pinax* (K15) (Fig. 7.7) already mentioned (Pernice 1898; Payne 1931; after the middle of the sixth century BC) seems to translate into an image the relationship between Athena and the world of potters reflected in the *kaminos*, and this is a strong argument for the epigram as Archaic. On the unfortunately very fragmented *pinax* one can see the dome of the kiln on the left, surmounted by Athena's owl.[24] On the basis of other exemplars showing the same subject, one can imagine the stoking tunnel, above which rises the small figure of a Genius, possibly one of those the threatening names in the epigram refer to. The small, bearded figure is shown in the act of holding up its large phallus. It is accompanied by the inscription *kam* . . . correctly believed to be the beginning of the word *kaminos*, as a designation of the kiln, occurring in full on another exemplar (K2) (Fig. 7.8). The demon seems to address Lokris, leaning towards him, with a threatening air. The painter has characterised the young man with great acumen. We do not think it coincidental that, like Hephaestus, he has a deformed right leg and foot. As we shall see, the kiln demon reappears, this time beardless, in the same obscene attitude, on the rump of the horse of a young rider, on a *pinax* whose verso shows a kiln (K25) (see Fig. 7.11 below).

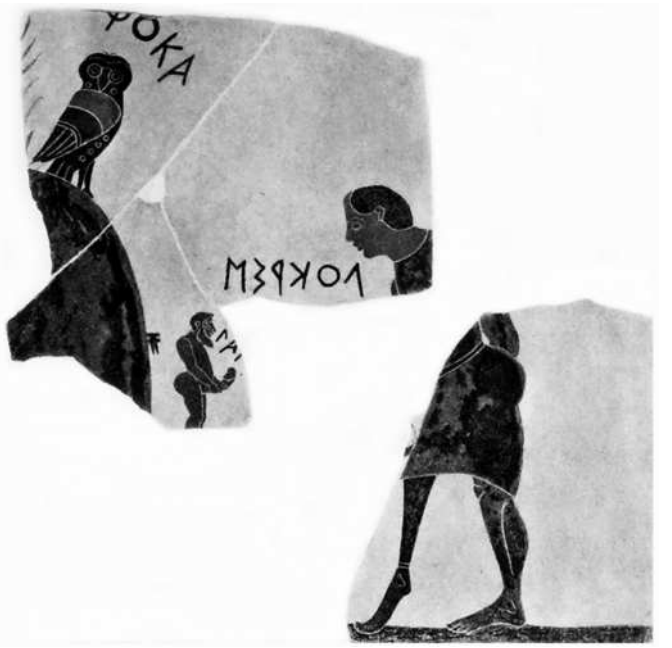

Figure 7.7 Pinax *of Lokris (F683-F757-F822-F829). ADII.*

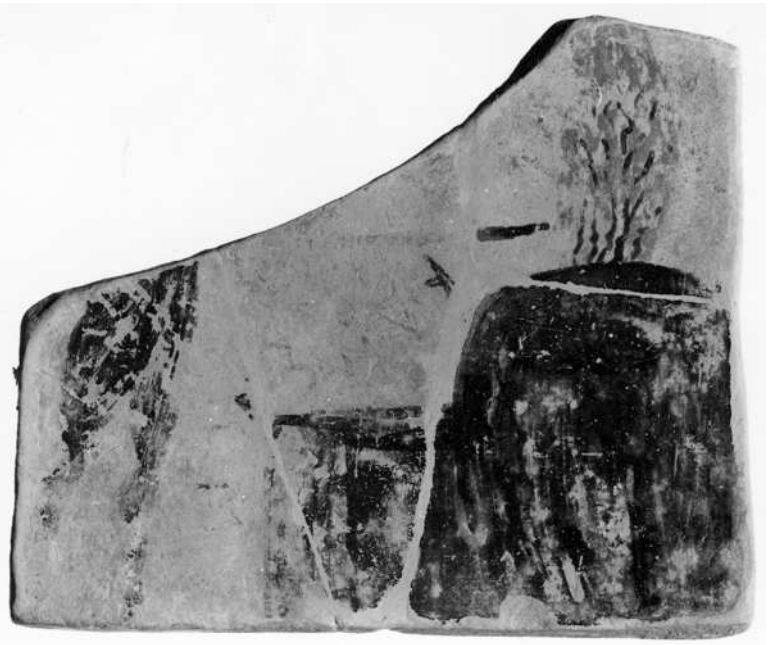

Figure 7.8 *Kiln with the label* kaminos *(K2).*

A further point of contact with Poseidon is the potters' relationship with the sea. This is barely hinted at by a *pinax* in the Louvre showing a ship, which an erroneous reading of the inscription has identified as that of the hero Phalanthos, founder of Taras. Geagan identifies as Athena the cloaked female figure at the left end of the *pinax*, standing in front of a naked man holding a pickaxe.[25] The large lacuna between the two figure leaves our understanding of the scene incomplete, but we cannot avoid observing that, at Penteskouphia, the goddess is usually depicted as *enoplia* ('armed').

The *hippeis*

These and other features shared by Poseidon and Athena explain their prominence in a sanctuary where riders must have held a special place, since, along with the craftsmen, they are the human protagonists of the sanctuary's iconographic repertoire (Fig. 7.9). We are well aware that the images of young men riding horses cannot be identified *tout court* as *hippeis*. Horses occur in a variety of situations, such as hunting or juvenile competitions connected with rites of passage. We should not forget, however, that for the Greeks even the mere image of a horse evoked the *ordo* of the *hippeis* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* VII.4; cf. Lissarrague 1990: 192). Aristotle specifically associates the raising of horses and the use of cavalry with oligarchy and the wealthy upper classes, who could afford the considerable expense of maintaining these animals.[26] Neither should we forget the deep significance of Cimon's theatrical gestures on the eve of the battle of

Figure 7.9 *Rider (F552).*

Salamis, when he dedicated a *chalinos* (bit) on the altar of Athena.[27] The centrality of the horse in the repertoire of Penteskouphia evokes the centrality of a social class practising *hippotrophia*, which kept the potters under its protective wing.

When it comes to the role of *hippeis* in Corinth, the literary sources are rather sparse. As to archaeological evidence, the Chigi vase is an exceptionally interesting document in this regard (D'Acunto 2013). It is datable to the early years of the tyranny of Kypselos (650–640 BC), but probably still reflects a Bacchiad ideological vision. As D'Acunto has convincingly argued, the two main friezes of the vase exhibit the three essential components of the town army, which metaphorically reflect the hierarchy of the dominant social classes, after a model made explicit on the pillar of Amarinthus, where a narrow elite of chariot-riders is accompanied by an eminent class of *hippeis* and a large troop of hoplites.

As Greenhalgh has shown, 'a squadron of true cavalry' is represented taking part in a battle on an *oinochoe* dating back to the first quarter of the sixth century BC, giving a sure *terminus ante quem* for the institution of a specialised cavalry body in the Corinthian army.[28]

The central role of the Corinthian *hippeis* has its foundation myth in the tradition relating to Bellerophon. One's mind goes inevitably to Pindar's 13th *Olympian*, lines 63–6 (Hubbard 1986): seized by the urge to tame Pegasos, the hero follows the advice of the soothsayer Polyidos and falls asleep near the Glauke spring. During the night Athena appears to him and presents him with the *chalinos*, the golden bit, which, like a magic potion, will allow him to tame Pegasos. In gratitude for this prodigious

gift, the hero will sacrifice a bull to Poseidon Damaios and dedicate an altar to Athena Hippia.

The myth of Bellerophon is attested by two *pinakes* at Penteskouphia (Ziskowski 2014). An example of good stylistic quality (F878-F909) (Fig. 7.10) shows a bearded Bellerophon on the main side, holding the lance that is a regular feature of rider images. He is riding Pegasos; the mane, part of the rump, and a broad sickle-shaped wing are preserved. Significantly, the secondary side of this exemple shows a scene from the potters' cycle: one craftsman is checking that the combustion chamber is drawing properly, while another feeds the kiln with a tool. The relationship with the myth of Poseidon *hippios* is stressed in the other example (F842), whose verso shows an image of Poseidon probably holding a dolphin (F842; Geagan 1970: 44, fig. 18; Wachter 2001: COP57K). The myth is also attested at Perachora, on a *pinax* of very humble stylistic

Figure 7.10a *Bellerophon. b Potters (K30). Photo: Berlin Museum.*

quality showing duelling warriors on the verso (Payne and Dunbabin 1962: pl. 79, 2268b).

On *pinakes*, riders, occurring singly or in pairs, are usually armed with a lance.[29] An emblematic example of the juxtaposition of *hippeis* and potters on two sides of the same *pinax* is K29 (see Fig. 7.13 below), which shows the recurrent scene of the extraction of clay from a quarry. The degraded appearance of the body of the craftsmen is contrasted with the elegant figure of the lance-bearing rider, who is accompanied by a bird hovering, wings outspread, above the rump of his horse.

A pair of galloping riders followed, as usual, by a bird similar to the one just described occupies the main side of a *pinax* whose verso shows a potter checking the draw of a kiln (K24), from which a spurt of flame is emitted. The recto of another *pinax* (K25) carries a particular scene: a rider accompanied by a tiny beardless character standing on the rump of the horse (Fig. 7.11). The character holds his large erect phallus with both hands. I believe this disquieting figure, which Pernice interpreted as Taraxippos (1898: 78), is actually one of the demons of the kiln. It belongs to the same family as the one shown on the Lokris *pinax* discussed above.

The potters

In a vase production like that of Corinth, where signatures are almost completely absent,[30] these plaques constitute an exception. As is well known, two exemplars of remarkable quality bearing the 'painter's' signature are known. One, by Timonidas (F846), is datable to the first quarter of the sixth century BC. On the recto it shows a lavishly clad Poseidon standing

Figure 7.11a *Rider and a demon of the kiln. b Kiln (K25).*

on the stoking tunnel of a kiln. The opposite side is taken up by the elegant figure of the dedicator in the garb of a hunter. Along his thigh, in clear view, is a painted inscription with his signature. This painter is the same one who signed the flask with Achilles stalking Troilus, a sophisticated depiction of great decorative impact, where the characters are identified by captions (Payne 1931: no. 1072, pl. 34, 5). The *pinax* signed by Milonidas (F511-MNC212), of the middle of the sixth century, is even more eloquent. The dedication – which in this case makes clear that the painter and the dedicator are the same person – is discreetly wound up in a kind of hook in the space to the right of Poseidon's quadriga.

Writing competence is a characteristic trait of the makers of these *pinakes*, which thus preserve a rich prosopography of the craftsmen's world. The inscriptions are not necessarily limited to the dedication: they often also include the names of individuals, sometimes of horses, and even of inanimate subjects. This narrative bent is part and parcel of the decoration. This is exemplified by two exquisite *pinakes* by the same hand, datable to the third quarter of the sixth century BC. One is the Lokris *pinax* already mentioned (Fig. 7.7 above). Only the left part of the other one survives. It shows two craftsmen who must have been tending a kiln. In the Lokris *pinax*, the captions refer not only to the craftsmen, but also to the kiln (*kaminos*) and possibly the owl above it. In the second *pinax* (K14),[31] the older, decorously dressed craftsman is called Physkon, possibly a pun on his thinness (Fig. 7.12).[32] He holds a tool, possibly a hook, in his left hand, and

Figure 7.12 *Potters attending a kiln (K14).*

is assisted by a young man called Arnesios. Physkon's caption runs along his back, while Arnesios' forms an arc around the head and right shoulder of the young man, taking up a large part of the pictorial space.

In this case, too, it is almost certain that the painter belonged to the *kerameikos* of Corinth. Indeed, this is likely to be the same painter, known as the Ophelandros P., who authored a famous Corinthian krater from Caere, now in the Louvre,[33] with a very unusual depiction of the punishment of two characters of humble social condition. Since six kraters are depicted here in two superimposed rows, and the krater also takes pride of place in the image on the other side of the vase, I find the most likely interpretation to be that put forward by Greifenhagen in 1929 and later espoused by Breitholtz (1960) and Bouzek (1963), namely that the individuals depicted, one bearing the significant name of Ombrikos ('the Umbrian'), are craftsmen of the Potters' Quarter in Corinth, which constitutes the natural setting for the scene.

The works ascribed to the Ophelandros P. are of good artistic quality. The vases share with the repertoire of the plaques a taste for the depiction of marginal individuals, with exaggerated and even degraded physical features. The theme, as we will see, is also echoed in some typical *pinakes* of the Penteskouphia milieu. This kind of theme can be rendered as a caricature, as on F615 or K7 (on K7 the image of a small column-krater appears again), or as accurately as on the vases of the Ophelandros P. The most characteristic example is K16, which very effectively stages the swollen and degraded body of a worker bent under the weight of a load of clay gathered from a quarry. The exposed genitals are a typical artistic device. The most famous example, however, is K29, which shows a team of workers in a clay pit (Fig. 7.13). The one digging with a large hook is a bearded character, naked, with exaggeratedly long, pendulous genitals. This is the same grotesque device used by the Ophelandros P. to render the figure supervising the corporal punishment described above. One's mind cannot help going to Plato's crude description of the physical degradation of craftsmen (Plato, *Rep*. VI.495; Vidal-Naquet 1979; Wachter 2001: 329, n. 1245; d'Agostino 2001: 43, n. 28).

The two sides of this *pinax* offer a significant example of the connection between the world of Penteskouphia and the *hippeis*, evoked on the opposite side by a well-dressed young man striding forth, armed with a lance, on an imposing horse. The juxtaposition of two subjects of such different social position does not embarrass the craftsman. It rather seems that he has internalised the very social stereotype that marginalises him, because herein lies his specificity. This is thus another way to affirm the 'dignity' of his work, which finds its consecration in its moral and physical otherness.

The problem, however, is more complex than that. There are some *pinakes* where – as in those just mentioned – the pictorial language of the recto and that of the verso are equally sophisticated. Let us take, for further examples, the *pinakes* of Igron (Berlin: Pernice 1897: 11f.; Wachter 2001: 135, COP38; Louvre MNB2856: K34; a wreath occurs only on the last). If we knew only the image on the main side, we would never suspect

Figure 7.13 *Workers in a clay pit (K29).*

that the dedicator is a craftsman. In both cases, the recto shows the noble figure of Poseidon, with the trident in his left hand and a wreath in his right. The social condition of the dedicator is revealed by the Louvre specimen, whose verso shows a kiln-stoking scene. The figure of the craftsman takes up the whole height of the *pinax*, and is accurately rendered. The lack of a reference model – in a word, of a *schema*, a formal artistic model[34] – is, however, subtly revealed by his disarticulated appearance and his rigidity. The same attitude, with the same gestures, also occurs on other *pinakes*, and yet each image addresses the issue of the representation of craftsmen in different ways and with different artistic quality. For example, on the above-mentioned K4, the figures tending the kiln are traced so summarily that what seems to be a strange hat makes no visual sense (see Fig. 7.2 above).

The author of *pinax* K17 (Fig. 7.4b above) adopts yet another stylistic approach. The nervous movement of the arms and the emphatic gesture grant special vivacity to the image of Poseidon on the main side. The same spirit informs the picture on the verso. Here a ladder is leant against the dome of a large kiln. A small figure climbs up the ladder. It is rendered in an essential and yet accurate way, and shows the same vivacity of movement as Poseidon.

Depictions of craftsmen thus show very high stylistic variability, and this is not always explicable in terms of higher or lesser pictorial skill. Evident proof of this is brought by the *pinakes* dedicated by Phlebon,[35] datable to the first quarter of the sixth century BC. These constitute an effective synthesis of the relationships between various subjects highlighted so far. K5 shows work at the kiln, surmounted by a tall chimney from which a blaze is emitted. It is surprising that this cursory and schematic picture occupies only a small portion of the plaque, almost as if to stress thereby the craftsman's low social significance, while the dedication takes up most of the space, running above the character and then turning downwards to run along the short side, a striking decorative effect that is typical of this craftsman. The same arrangement is observed on two more examples, which probably show the same subject. On one (F557), a bearded male figure, looking backwards, holds a lance in his right hand and the bridle of a horse in his left (Fig. 7.14). The horse's *chalinos* can be made out clearly. The competence with which the figure of the horse is sketched is not matched by the simplified and unhomogeneous rendering of the human figures. Clearly the craftsman must have had a consistent, detailed *schema* to work from only for the animal.

Save for rare exceptions, it would thus appear that the craftsmen of Penteskouphia, in spite of their strong inclination to celebrate themselves in writing, in general did not have a high opinion of themselves. They do not claim an iconographic dignity of their own. They do not even bother to define one or more *schemata* for their depiction. The world of artistic production, in Corinth as elsewhere, is a world where establishing fixed *schemata* is an essential prerequisite for a dignified and accepted image. Pictures of craftsmen, instead, are usually left to improvisation, which translates as *askemosyne*, a term that effectively conveys the unpleasantness and insignificance consequent on the absence of a model.

Figure 7.14 Pinax *by Phlebon (F557).*

On a more general plane, how do these craftsmen see themselves? And what unresolved conflict prevents them from creating a *schema* for their self-representation?

The problem concerns the ambiguous attitude the Greek world in general had towards the figure of the craftsman, which is even reflected in the mythical status of their tutelary deity, Hephaestus. As d'Agostino tried to illustrate in an essay dating back to 2001, the condition of this god reflects his 'irregular' status. The creator of admirable *automata*, he himself is deformed, and yet this deformity is an essential component of his skill as divine artificer (d'Agostino 2001; cf. Detienne and Vernant 1974). It is hardly worth dwelling here on the endless dispute about the position of the craftsman in the Athenian imagination. Excluded from the *polis*, because his body is deformed by the practice of his art and craft, and his soul is mutilated and degraded (Plato, *Rep*. VI.495.d–e), the craftsman is nevertheless, for Plato himself, the demiurge who plays an essential role in the proper functioning of the *polis*. Vidal-Naquet (1979) offers an exemplary analysis of this paradoxical condition, showing how the ambiguity of the craftsman's status is an essential trait of the Greek mentality. Thanks to this radical ambiguity, the image of the craftsman can be an elegant one, that of someone who is integrated into society, as in Timonidas, but also a marginalised and degraded one, as in K16, or an artistically well-executed one, but equally degraded, as in K29. When the image is full of negative connotations, it is as if the craftsman has taken upon his shoulders the weight of the social exclusion he is condemned to. It is true that in Corinth the condition of craftsmen was allegedly less harsh than in the rest of Greece,[36] but the evidence we have examined so far warns us against overestimating this diversity.

The above considerations enlighten us as to how deeply the craftsmen of Penteskouphia needed Poseidon's protection, because, in his capacity as *hippios*, he could avert sudden explosions in the kiln. For the same reason, they needed the assistance of Athena, in her specific role of *Hippia* and *Chalinitis* (Villing 1997). On the political and social level, the protection of *hippeis* was essential, both because of their well-known connection with the two above-mentioned deities, and because of their high-ranking social condition and their material interest in manufacture and trade.

This last aspect is clearly echoed by the only *pinax* (K23) showing a freight ship. It is very significant that this ship carries a row of *oinochoai*, suspended above it, since they also occur in two unusual and especially informative *pinakes* (K13, K33). The first is the only one staging a complete representation of the inside of a potter's shop. The second is the only one showing the interior of a kiln with a lot of vases ready for firing. This datum would not be relevant if it did not inform us that, possibly after kraters, *oinochoai* were among the most important products for these craftsmen, partly because of the connection of both shapes with the pervasive activity of the symposium.

For the interpretation of *pinax* K23, we refer to the proposal of Palmieri (2009). The scene on the recto shows a man with a misshapen body working with a pickaxe in a quarry. As to the standing figure, its identification is doubtful because the right-hand part of the *pinax* is missing, and there the hands and attributes, if any, would have shown. We do not think it is

Poseidon: why would he be wearing boots? It must rather be a merchant, possibly himself a craftsman. At any rate, the depiction of the freight ship loaded with vases on the verso bears witness to the involvement of craftsmen in the trade of their products. We do not think the presence of *moneres* on several *pinakes* belongs within this sphere, although it is a well-known fact that the border between war, piracy and trade was an indistinct one.[37]

The *pinax* with the freight ship concludes the sequence of operations staged by the potters of Penteskouphia, although the extent of their direct involvement in the pottery trade is still not clear. It emphasises, however, the great role that the silent 'army' of craftsmen played in the development of wealthy Corinth.

Appendix (A. C. Cassio)

Do we have any proof that the Κάμινος is an Attic poem?

The pseudo-Homeric epigram entitled Κάμινος ('the Kiln'), transmitted by the so-called *Herodotean Life of Homer* and the *Suda*, is almost universally regarded by modern scholars as an Attic composition, *carmen vetus Atticum* according to Merkelbach and West (1967). Faraone (2001: 435) states that 'modern scholars are in agreement . . . that it [i.e. the *Kiln*] was probably composed in Athens sometime in the fifth century BCE', and proceeds to provide a number of arguments meant to lend support to this theory. Some of them (which I shall examine presently) are based on linguistic usage, but the main argument offered by Faraone is that at line 2 Athena 'is clearly Athena Ergane, the patron of Athenian potters'. In addition to this, κάναστρα (line 3) is declared to be 'a local Attic term'.

Now, Bruno d'Agostino and M. G. Palmieri have amply demonstrated in their chapter that Athena is indissolubly linked to the activities of the Corinthian potters, and there is no need for the interpreters of the *Kiln* to regard Athena as the Attic Athena Ergane. As for myself, I shall examine some of the allegedly decisive linguistic arguments for an Athenian authorship of the *Kiln*.

For example, let us have a look at the argument based on the prosody of καλῶc at line 4. It goes like this: [a] is short as it is in Attic, and as a consequence the *Kiln* betrays the hand of an Athenian poet. As a matter of fact this argument is completely invalid. The adjective καλός derives from an older form κᾰλϝός which developed in two different directions: (1) with compensatory lengthening, yielding κᾱλός, and (2) without compensatory lengthening, resulting in κᾰλός. Now, (1) is the oldest development, regularly found in Homer; (2) is a more recent development, attested in various dialects, of which Attic is just one. Because of the high number of extant Attic poetic works (tragedy and comedy), κᾰλός is attested in Attic more than in any other dialect: this gives the impression that κᾰλός is 'exclusively Attic', which is far from being the case. The proof is that κᾰλός is attested for the first time in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 63, παρθενικῆς κᾰλόν εἶδος ἐπήρατον, a text that takes us back to the late eighth century BC and to Boeotia. Interestingly enough, Pollux 10.85 says that the *Kiln* (which he calls *Kerameis*) was attributed by some to Hesiod (Merkelbach and West 1967: fr. 302). It is obvious that the linguistic process which led to (2), although a secondary one, took place at a

relatively early date, and has nothing specifically Attic about it. For instance, we find in Epicharmus (a Syracusan author of comedies, sixth/fifth century BC), ἐκκεκόμβωται κᾶλώς (fr. 7 K.-A; the acute accent on *omega* is a Doric accent) and μόσχον κᾶλάν (fr. 134 K.-A). Epicharmus' dialect is Sicilian Doric!

The same goes for the metrical treatment of τέχνη at line 10. In the *Kiln* τέχνη appears twice, with two different prosodic treatments: at line 10 the first syllable is metrically short, while at line 21 it is metrically long. Line 10 shows what is traditionally regarded as the 'Attic' treatment of *muta cum liquida* groups (the so-called called 'correptio Attica': the vowel before *muta cum liquida*, in this case -χν-, is metrically short and not long as in Homer). Again, there is nothing specifically Attic, apart from the traditional (and wrong) name 'correptio Attica': similar features are found in early iambic and lyric poetry (Führer 1978) and in early elegy (e.g. Theognis 1200, ἄλλοι ἔχουσιν ἀγρούς). And they are old enough, since Hesiod (Hesiod again!) has a short vowel in front of a combination of a mute with a nasal (ἀκροκνέφαιος in *Works and Days* 567) precisely as in τέχνη, a combination that is rarer than other types of *muta cum liquida* (West 1966: 98).

Faraone (2001: 435, n. 2) speaks of 'usual Ionic prosody' of τέχνη at line 21, where the first syllable is treated as metrically long: but he does not seem to suspect that the 'short' treatment might be authentic in Ionia, whereas the 'long' treatment might be a homage to the Homeric tradition. Scholars seem to have difficulty in understanding that some 'traditional' prosodic treatments in Archaic and Classical poetry do not mirror the spoken language, but are a tribute to 'prestige' poetry. The *Kiln* is a mixture of archaisms and innovations, but the innovations are hardly specifically Attic. Some statements on the language of the *Kiln* are masterpieces of mental confusion. Markwald (1986: 240) says that the indications of 'jüngere Sprache' in the *Kiln* take us back no further than the fifth century BC ('keines geht über das 5. Jhdt. v. Chr. hinaus'), but in a note on the same page on *Kiln* 6 κερδῆναι (p. 240 n. 55) he reminds us that κερδαίνω was used by Hesiod, *Works and Days* 352!

I cannot understand how Faraone (2001: 435, n. 2) can say that 'the poem uses non-Ionic language', since in general both phonology and morphology are clearly Ionic (e.g. εἰν ἀγορῇ versus Attic εἰν ἀγορᾷ, ἀναιδείην versus Attic ἀναίδειᾰν). Non-specialists should be reminded that a hexameter text in Ionic need not proceed from an author born and educated in Ionia. Theoretically the author can be an Ionian – or a Dorian, a Thessalian, an Athenian . . . The Greeks used an artificial epic language, in which Ionic was prevalent: this language could be learnt by able poets belonging to totally different dialect areas – see for instance the Boeotian Hesiod or the author of the 'Pythic' section of the *Hymn to Apollo*, whose origin was probably in Phokis or western Boeotia (Janko 1982: 128). Obviously if the author was not an Ionian by birth some features of his own dialect might creep into the text: this can be seen for example in Theognis, who was a Megarian. At line 5 of the *Kiln* πολλὰ δ' ἀγυιαῖς is metrically guaranteed (the Ionic form would have been the unmetrical *πολλὰ δ' ἀγυιῇσι), so it cannot be a scribal mistake. Since the ending -αις is not only Attic, but also Doric, it cannot be regarded as an absolutely certain indication of the Attic origin of the text; the author of the *Kiln* might well have been a Dorian.

Moreover, Faraone (2001: 435, n. 2) subscribes to Milne's (1988) thesis, according to which κάναστρα (line 3) is a 'local Attic term'. Milne's conviction derives from the inscribed base of an Attic one-handler (Cook 1951: 9) found in Naucratis (now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) dated to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century BC, which she discusses at length; the graffito (first published by Edgar 1898–9: no. 111, pl. V) reads Αρτομονος το κανασθον τοτο 'this is the *kanasthon* of Artomon'. Milne's theory is that 'the *graffito* on the Cambridge sherd gives us the Attic name of this Attic shape' (1988: 193). Now, in the first place the form we read on the one-handler, κάνασθον, is completely isolated: Milne (1988: 192f.) has to admit that κάνασθον is misspelled for κάνασθρον, and that in its turn κάνασθρον stands for κάναστρον; secondly, the author of a graffito on an Attic cup need not be an Athenian himself, and the inscription was regarded as Ionic by Schwyzer (1923: no. 748, 3). Thus Milne's arguments seem to me insubstantial, the more so since she knows well that κάναστρα (meaning 'terracotta vases') appears in a Hellenistic inscription from Lebena (Crete) still composed in the local dialect (*IC* 1. XVII, 2a; there is a pronoun written ϝοι!); it seems very improbable that the term was borrowed from Attica.

As a matter of fact this word, which clearly meant not only 'basket', but also 'cup' or 'vessel', something from which it was possible to drink or eat, was used all over Greece with many variants (κάναστρον, κάνιστρον, κάνυστρον, κάναυστρον); incidentally, κάναυστρον was certainly used in Attica since it appears in an inscription recording the public sale of objects belonging to the Hermocopidae (*IG* I2 330, 11). On the other hand, in the Rhodian *chelidonismós* (*Poetae Melici Graeci* 848, transmitted by Athenaeus 8.360 c) the same word appears as κάνυστρον (line 9, τυροῦ τε κάνυστρον).

In the *Kiln* things are further complicated by the fact that κάναστρα is the form found in Pollux (10.85), but both the *Vita Herodotea* and the *Suda* show in its place a corrupt μαλ' ἱερά which presupposes a text with κάνιστρα, *not* κάναστρα, as already seen by Ludwich (1916) (confusion of K and M, N and ΛΙ, C and ϵ: KANIC(T)PA) > MAΛICPA > MALIϵPA).

In conclusion, it seems to me that all the linguistic arguments that should support the theory of an exclusively Athenian origin of the *Kiln* are invalid. The linguistic innovations are compatible with an Archaic date, and the composer might have been active anywhere in the Greek world – why not Corinth?

Notes

1. The plaques relating to the potters' work included in the catalogue by Chatzidimitriou 2005 are designated in the form (K00); the other *pinakes* in Berlin, published by Furtwängler 1885, are referred to in the form (F00). Table 7.1 shows the concordances with *Antike Denkmäler* (AD), Pernice 1897, Geagan 1970 and Wachter 2001 (in the form COP00). Louvre Museum inventory numbers are given in the form MNC000. Figures 7.2, 7.4, 7.5, 7.6, 7.7, 7.8, 7.10, 7.11, 7.13 have been kindly conceded by the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen Zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz. The warmest thanks are due to Mrs Agnes Schwarzmaier for her prompt and invaluable help. Figures 7.3, 7.9, 7.12, 7.14 are by the author. The publication of all the images has been allowed by the Museum's management.

Inventary (Furtwängler 1885)	Sides	AD	Pernice 1897	Geagian 1970	Wachter 2001	Chazidimitriou 2005
F356-F609	1			p. 41, fig. 15		K3
F357	1	II.30.17				
F373-F415-F423	1		p. 11f.		COP38a	
F452	1	II.40.3		p. 37, fig. 5	n. 945	
F482-F627-F493	1		p. 19, fig. 9			K2
F485-F765	1	I.7.11	p. 19, fig. 10		COP44	
F487	1	II.29.22			COP6	
F494	1	II.24.2				
F496-F940	1	II.29.13			COP42	
F511/MNC212	1			p. 34, fig. 2	COP41	
F521-F798-F876	2	II.40.2 a–b				
F539-F630	1	I.7.21	p. 23, fig. 14		COP35	
F540	1	II.29.3				
F557	1	I.8.25			COP48a	
F558-F530	1		p. 23, fig. 13		COP12	
F601/MNC211; C63-203; C63-251; C63-250	1			pp. 41f., fig. 16	COP67	
F608	1	I.8.1			COP84a	K4
F611	1	I.8.26			COP48b	K5
F615	1	II.24.19				
F616	1	I.8.12				K7
F619-F826	2		p. 25		COP59	
F640	1		p. 26, fig. 15			K13
F672-F684-F770	1		pp. 29f., fig. 22		COP62	K14
F683-F822-F829	1	II.39.12			COP63	K15
F764	1	I.7.15			COP77	
F786	1	II.24.18			COP67	K16
F800	2					
F801	2					
F802	2	II.23.17				K17
F810	2	II.23.7				K18
F811	2	II.23.15				K19
F816	2	II.23.13				K20
F831	2	I.8.3				K23
F834	2	II.29.23(a)	p. 36, fig. 26(b)		COP1A	
F842	2			p. 44, fig. 18	COP57K	
F846	2	I.8.13	p. 37, fig. 28		COP18	
F863-F877-F879	2		p. 38, figs. 31–32			K24
F865	2	II.23.11	p. 38, fig. 33			K25
F871	2	I.8.5.7			n. 1245	K29
F878-F909	2	I.8.21				K30
F893	2	I.8.19				K33
F912/I-121	2			p. 37, fig. 7a–b	COP58	
F916	2					
MNB2856	2				COP38/6	K34

2. The *Hesperia* supplement prepared by E. Hasaki and awaited for many years also includes only the *pinakes* representing the potters' activity.
3. Mylonopoulos 2003: 201–4, who gives a very effective insight into the aspects of Poseidon on the site. On the first findings: cf. Rayet and Collignon 1880: 101–2; Collignon 1886. On the findings of 1905: Washburn 1906.
4. Only the plaques from the Isthmian sanctuary are still completely unknown: cf. Morgan 1994: 113, n. 18, where she announced that they were being published by Wendy Thomas.
5. This research originated as a MA thesis by Maria Grazia Palmieri (2005), under the supervision of B. d'Agostino and M. D'Acunto.
6. Wachter 2001. We express our gratitude to A. C. Cassio for having drawn our attention to this fundamental aspect of the evidence, initially neglected.
7. Paus. II.2.4; cf. the commentary by Musti and Torelli 1986: 216. Cf. also Will 1955: 155, n. 2, 223–4. In the age of Pausanias the site hosted meetings and a fruit and cakes market (Alciphron, *Epistulae* III.60).
8. Poseidon is the god who brought Pegasos to Bellerophon: Merklebach and West1967: 27–31, n. 43a, vv. 82–4.
9. Cf. Wiseman 1978: 82–4, 87, nn. 4, 17, fig. 105; Mylonopoulos 2003: 201–4. The relation between Acrocorinth and Penteskouphia may be guessed from Blegen et al. 1930: pl. VIII, where the site is called Pente Skouphoi and appears to be close to a building (a fountain?) which does not seem to be mentioned in the text.
10. F357 = AD II.30.17; Pernice 1897: 11, with clear satirical intent. On the representation of the god dressed as a *komastes* (F452) cf. Payne 1931: 122; Seeberg 1971: 46, no. 230; *LIMC* II: Poseidon 109 a; Wachter 2001: 275, n. 945.
11. F485-F765; Pernice 1897: 19, fig. 10; Payne 1931: 108; Jeffery 1961: 131, 20: dated to the second quarter of the sixth century BC.
12. F496-F940; Payne 1931: 108; Jeffery 1961: 131.20: dated to 575–550 BC.
13. On these topics, cf. the masterly article by Yalouris (1950). On the Corinthian cults and the invention of the *chalinos* cf. Will 1955; Detienne and Vernant 1974: 176–200; Villing 1997.
14. Paus. I.30.4. On Poseidon Hippios in Athens, cf. Siewert 1979.
15. Pernice 1897: fig. 14. COP35 with dedication by Eurymedes: Poseidon (named) holding his trident and riding one of two horses. Berlin F540 = AD II.29.3.
16. Nadal 2005. The same iconography is found on Corinthian pottery: cf. the krater preserved in the Bari Museum inv. 6207; Payne 1931: no. 1459; Geagan 1970: 44, n. 49; Amyx 1988: 266, n. 1, 583, 624–5, 662, pl. 121, 1: assigned to the second quarter of the sixth century BC (Late Corinthian I).
17. Cf. also K18, with a similar image on the reverse, and bearing, on the main side, Poseidon holding a trident and a dolphin; K19.
18. Wachter 2001: COP58–COP59, p. 141ff. Apart from these two gods, who may be considered as eponymous for the sanctuary, the only other god addressed in a dedication is Zeus: cf.Wachter 2001: COP78.
19. Pernice 1897: 25, with wrong transcription; Wachter 2001: COP59.
20. Geagan 1970: fig. 7a–b; Wachter 2001: COP58, pp. 435–49.
21. Geagan 1970: 43, n. 40; Wachter 2001: COP77, pp. 149, 305, para. 443: first quarter of the sixth century BC. The episode is described in Hom. *Il.* V.290–318.
22. On the topography of the site and its context, cf. Paus. II.4.1 and the commentary in Musti and Torelli 1986: 227.
23. Pindar, *Ol.* VII.78; Hubbard 1986. The statement that the relation between Athena and the *chalinos* did not exist prior to the end of the sixth century BC (Dubbini 2011: 133) clearly seems to be untenable.

24. Wachter 2001: COP63, p. 144f., calls into question the pertinence of the name . . . *phoka* to the owl. Diverging from Pernice, he recognises in the owl Athena's symbol, recalling that the bird reappears in K20 and in a plaque in Paris MNC209 resting on the reins of a quadriga: Collignon 1886: 27, fig. 5; Wachter 2001: COP, p. 125f.
25. F601 etc.; Geagan 1970: 41f., fig.16; Wachter 2001: COP67.
26. Arist. *Pol.* 1289b 33–40, 1297b 16–22, 1321a 5–11; Gaebel 2002: 58ff.
27. Plut. *Cimon* 5.1; Detienne and Vernant 1974: 189; Schmitt Pantel 2009: 40, 92ff.
28. Greenhalgh 1973: 99ff., fig. 52. *Pace* Spence 1993: 5, 'the Corinthian cavalry . . . seems to have been created post-425'.
29. The *hippeus* is accompanied by a *hoplite* in Collignon 1886: 26, fig. 4.
30. Apart from Timonidas' signature, there is only one other, that of Chares: cf. Wachter 2001: COP57, p. 130; Amyx 1988: 256, pl. 110.2, in a very poor style.
31. Wachter 2001. The attribution to the same painter is owed to Payne 1931: 112, and has been accepted by Amyx 1988: 234.
32. Cf. Wachter 2001: COP62, p. 143: 'the name . . . means "pot-belly"'.
33. Louvre E632; cf. Greifenhagen 1929; Payne 1931: 122, 163, cat. 1178; Seeberg 1971: 44ff.; Amyx 1988: 566f., pl. 102 Ia–b (Ophelandros P.). On the various interpretations, cf. Wachter 2001: COP40, p. 62ff., 329ff.
34. On the *schemata* and their essential role in nonverbal communication systems cf. Catoni 2008.
35. F558-F530 = Wachter 2001: COP12, p. 128 (horse's rump and part of the dedication); F557 (bearded man with spear, leading a horse) and K5 (craftsman and kiln) corresponding to Wachter 2001: COP48A–B, pp. 138f. On the dating, cf. Payne 1931: 104.
36. The most authoritative source on this subject is Hdt. II.167.1; Will 1955: 326, n.e 1. The meaning of this passage is debated: cf. Morgan 1988: 336.
37. Cf. Mele 2007. The relation of these images to Poseidon might actually depend only on his central role as lord of the sea.

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8

Space, Society, Religion: A Short Retrospective and Prospective Note

François de Polignac

It is now a well-established fact in the human and social sciences that the study of the spatial distribution of social life, including religion, is one of the best accesses to the analysis and understanding of societies. But it has not always been so. For quite a long time, in Classical studies, the only approach to space was traditional 'historical geography', the scope of which was primarily to identify the places mentioned in the ancient sources or known through archaeological or epigraphic evidence. This was and remains an important contribution to the study of ancient societies. But in these works the study of topography does not sustain a general conception of space as such and as a fundamental aspect of social life; and in fact, space as a category of study was not formalised as such. In the field of religion, of special interest here, the study of cult and deities in the ancient classical world (Greece and Rome) has for long been unaware of the interest of spatial relationships. The location of sanctuaries in Classical antiquity was usually analysed in purely religious terms, according to the nature of the deity or peculiarities of the cult, for example, and perceived as a static reality, unaffected by historical change (political and/or social). The idea has been deeply rooted for quite a long time that the choice of cult places depended frequently on their supposed 'natural features', which would 'naturally' confer on them a sacred value (mountains, caves, woods, springs, etc.). According to this view (which has not completely disappeared), most religious behaviours were seen as deeply traditional and static. This is why it is interesting to note that, apart from sharing a strong fascination with the intriguing world of Geometric and Archaic Greece, Anthony Snodgrass and his students or the researchers whom he deeply influenced (including myself in this last category) played a decisive part in the 'spatial turn' of the 1970s and 1980s, and made of space a decisive concept in many different fields. May one speak of a 'Cambridge school' of archaeology? I would be inclined to do so. And I would like to make here a short and very general retrospective evocation of the research in this field before asking a few questions about the present situation. Since this chapter has been conceived, and was delivered as a paper, in an informal and almost conversational mode in harmony with the kind of discussions I had with Anthony

when I was in Cambridge in 1978 (and later), it certainly does not pretend to be a complete and straightforward study of the topic, strictly elaborated according to the rules of scholarly production.

The change in the approach to space occurred in several ways, two of them being of particular interest here. In the case of societies such as the ancient Greek world, since no word, no 'emic' concept corresponds to the notion of 'space' as we know it, this might seem a serious obstacle to the understanding of the representations and uses of space. But studies such as the famous and seminal paper of Jean-Pierre Vernant (1965), 'Hestia – Hermès: sur l'expression religieuse de l'espace et du mouvement chez les Grecs', which became one of the chapters of *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs*, introduced a wholly new approach. For the first time the relation was clearly established between the religious representations and practices and the uses and interpretations of space in many social practices of the Greek world. Even more, these representations and practices appeared as one of the best ways to understand what space would have meant to, and how it was perceived and elaborated by, the ancient Greeks. Many works by Vernant himself and other members of the so-called 'Paris school' of ancient history and anthropology, such as Pierre Vidal-Naquet and Marcel Detienne, explored the various aspects of this relationship between religion, space and society.

Since this approach was often decidedly anthropological and therefore took the historical dimension into account very unequally, the categories of space still retained something of the abstract, aiming at producing general ideas and conclusions valid for the ancient Greek world at any time in any place. For instance, two complementary notions of *meson* (centre) and *eschatiai* (limits, confines), which played such an important role in these analyses, were largely used as categories narrowly linked to the *polis* culture but, from the point of view of their heuristic value, largely unaffected by historical conditions. Archaeology, however, brought new views that gave more historical consistency to the study of ancient space. Indeed, the spreading of intensive territorial surveys in the 1970s and 1980s, both in Italy and in Greece, made archaeologists and ancient historians more familiar with a view of space as a complete and coherent – though multiple – reality having its own logic, its own chronologies and evolutions. To be fair, one must recall the pioneering role played by the archaeology of the Greek foundations in Italy and Sicily in this evolution. Since the 1950s, the strong interest shared by the Italian archaeologists and their foreign colleagues in the question of allotment and sharing of land in the Greek cities (precisely at the time of the post-war *riforma agraria*) led to a spectacular development of a first archaeology of territory. It is not by mere chance that the first conceptual frame for the study of space in Greek cities was presented by Georges Vallet in the course of the 1967 Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, where he introduced concepts, like 'extra-urban', which were to have such a long-lasting and deep influence in the following decades. Nor is it by mere chance that some of the archaeologists and historians of the western Greek colonial world (Lepore, d'Agostino and

Greco, among others) were closely associated with the work of the 'Paris school' on land, space and the *polis*. For sure, the territorial surveys of the 1970s and 1980s fostered different goals beyond the question of land tenure, new concepts such as the archaeology of landscape, and different methods (Bintliff and Snodgrass 2007). But all these initiatives converged to turn space into the historical concept of territory – in fact, territoriality was born.

As a consequence, the study of the spatial dimension in ancient societies changed profoundly by fully integrating historical factors. More specifically, our understanding of the relationships between ancient societies and their environment was revitalised when it became apparent that, in so many respects, knowledge of the geographical, social and political contexts was essential for a better understanding of religious practices and of their role in the reordering of space. It is at that time that the study of their spatial distribution began to take into account the processes of city or state formation and territorial delimitation – there is no need to insist on that. Combining the anthropological approach and the archaeological construction of territoriality made it clear, from the 1980s onwards, that the history of cults and sanctuaries could not be analysed without reference to the orderings and reorderings of space in relation to political and social global changes. It appeared that the rise and development of ancient cities and states, and more generally of more complex societies, should be analysed through several stages of reshaping of the spatial cohesion and hierarchies around major centres. The changing patterns of functions and hierarchies of cult and of their organisation and offerings would reveal how the symbolic relations which created and made visible the political dimension of the territory were drawn in space.

The notions of territory, territoriality, centre and margins, control or appropriation of space through the foundation or control of sanctuaries, therefore became the main paradigm of these analyses. The Greek world especially became a true 'laboratory' for these ideas (Alcock and Osborne 1994). A new historical anthropology of space has thus been developed, which combines the study of the precise historical context of the various rituals, paraphernalia and circuits that served to organise the religious life of a society, with the analysis of global representations of space thus developed within that society – a dual approach to the interactive practices and representations on which the identity and specificity of each society were built. Naturally, this territorial paradigm, at first elaborated in a rather rigid formulation, underwent significant evolutions. For quite a while, analysis of space rested on the Classical view of a territory as an homogeneous and enclosed space, where a society would exercise its full sovereignty, and where political, cultural and religious identities were, as a result, isomorphic. But these representations soon appeared too schematic: since they were strictly correlated to the *polis*, they tended to consider the model as valid throughout the history of the cities, without significant variations in time, and disregarded other kinds of situations either within or outside the world of the cities. Consequently, more attention was given

to symbolic rather than effective forms of control and domination through cults (Polignac 1994). The attention also shifted from the *polis* model, which cannot function everywhere in Greece and in the Mediterranean, to other types of organisation. Catherine Morgan thus devoted her attention to areas where sanctuaries, instead of cities, played the role of 'central places' with which the cities and dwellings were more or less closely associated (Morgan 2003). But more generally speaking, emphasis shifted from homogeneity and the drawing of models towards heterogeneity, differentiation and evolutions in time. The territorial model as it had been drawn in the first place was largely modified and enriched when research started to identify connections, superpositions or, conversely, discrepancies and ruptures between different cult systems within the same space. Apart from the idea of territory, which is certainly not to be abandoned, the concept of 'horizon' may usefully describe the systems of relations, both symbolic (rituals, offerings, etc.) and practical (circulations, exchanges, etc.), within which a cult acquires meaning, independent of any predetermined spatial category. The distribution of specific types of offering, ritual practices and sometimes architectural or artistic styles, between various sanctuaries and between sanctuaries and other ritual contexts (burial, for example: Morris 2000; Houby-Nielsen 1996), creates a space which is not necessarily continuous and homogeneous as the Classical territory is, but may be organised around the major poles of the system of exchange (both symbolic and material) which defines a cultural identity. This means that the categories used for a while, like 'extra-urban', if still valid in some precise cases, cannot be used any longer as a general definition, since they refer to a kind of historical organisation which is not to be found everywhere at any time. For instance, since I studied this case a few years ago, I shall mention the very telling example of the Amphiareion of Oropos, founded close to the end of the fifth century near the north-eastern border of Attica – but initially outside Attic territory: though it could be considered as a typical 'extra-urban' Athenian sanctuary, in an area much disputed by Athens and the Boeotians (the battle of Delion took place not far from there in 424), in fact the sanctuary is clearly defined by its cultual organisation as a central place welcoming people from all the surrounding areas (Polignac 2011). Sanctuaries as central places can therefore be found in the *polis* world as well. But it must be stressed that the character and functions of a sanctuary may vary in time: quite clearly, when the Athenian ephebes, in the second century BC, are sent to the Amphiareion, they claim that the sanctuary is a territorial landmark of Athens.

Social, institutional and religious life is thus no longer analysed exclusively in terms of a hierarchy, whereby the upper levels automatically enclose the lower, from the great international (e.g. Panhellenic) cults down to the most local. Especially interesting in this perspective are the 'interstitial' spaces, at the margins of contiguous territories, which sometimes played an important part in creating cult communities which transcended geographical and political boundaries, as shown by the Amphiareion and many other cult places which may have played the same role at one

moment or another of their history. This approach is clearly influenced by the attention paid to the 'middle-ground' areas which played an important part for the elaboration of negotiated identities between Greeks and other peoples of the Mediterranean (Malkin 1998). In all these cases, the classic 'centre–periphery' relationship is inverted, a point which highlights its frequent inadequacy: the 'in-between' areas play the central part. Changing configurations of cult community can appear around the same sanctuary at different times or in different contexts, and spatial analysis must take this variability into account. But analysis must also try to identify cases where a cult place could combine several meanings and 'horizons' almost simultaneously, or conversely within a short span of time: it is well known that some cult places functioned only for a short period during the year, maybe even one day, for one festival. Space and time really need to be narrowly articulated to analyse such cases. The new territorial paradigm is therefore much more complex, less rigid and very different from the older one, and tries to take into consideration all the possible variations in time or space, or time as space. This is why the concept of 'religious landscape' has been explored recently, as a way to examine simultaneously and to combine all the possible variations in the use of sacred space without depending too much on the notion of territory alone (Polignac and Scheid 2010).

It is a kind of paradox that precisely when the territorial paradigm was aiming at a greater differentiation and complexity, a new globalising model for the study of space appeared with the 'Mediterranean paradigm' (Horden and Purcell 2000). This is not the place for a general assessment of the question. But two remarks are necessary. On the one hand, the opening of study on the Mediterranean is a welcome incentive. The emphasis on the maritime perspective in a kind of neo-Braudelian approach, the priority given to the study of contacts and connections and to the dynamics of mobility, can counterbalance any tendency to consider Greek space as too narrowly continental. Even more: looking to the Greek world from the sea does open really interesting perspectives and gives rise to many new questions – if combined with the continental view as well (e.g. Houby-Nielsen 2009). But there is a difficulty. In the wake of contemporary globalisation, the new model draws the features of a Mediterranean globalisation where territorial logics – whatever they are – are less efficient factors in the social and even political dynamics of transformation, on the Mediterranean scale, than are the places of contact and exchanges, 'middle grounds' or other processes which create close ties and networks in the maritime space and its surroundings (Malkin 2011). The process of 'connectivity' is the impulse for the creation of this Mediterranean unity beyond any kind of territory. But this is more problematic, since the process seems to have no limit either in space or in time. The danger of meta-historicism and essentialism was quickly pointed out (Morris 2003, who made a plea for a process of 'Mediterraneanisation'). And there is a great risk – which can be verified – of seeing a ready-to-use and all-encompassing notion applied too broadly to too many diverse cases and situations, blurring their specificities under the facilities offered by a generalising tag. But,

more specifically, the relation to territoriality is far from being clear. Since connectivity is supposed to function over most spaces, land and sea, without distinction, how is it related to the processes identified in territorial studies? Should the processes of territoriality and the processes of connectivity be considered as two completely alien worlds, proceeding from different ways of writing history which can ignore each other? Is there a difference of scale, local on the one hand, Mediterranean on the other? But in that case how would the two scales join, unless we accept writing Greek history in a schizophrenic way?

Here again, the study of the history of cults and sanctuaries can help. I have already explored the parallel between two important oracular sanctuaries of Apollo, both located on the northern fringe of a large plain in central Greece: Apollo Ptoieus at the north of the Theban plain, Apollo Abas at the north of the Phocian plain (Polignac 2009). Both indeed helped me to illustrate the variability of the dialectic relation between the 'far' and the 'close'. I would like to add a few comments, especially since in the 2009 text I was still clinging to the identification of the Kalapodi sanctuary with the cult place of Artemis Elaphebolos. Though appearing at widely different periods, the two cult places share common features at some decisive moments of their history. The first similarity is their topographical situation. Both are located on important routes between central Greece and the Euboean northern gulf, through Locris. More precisely, the Ptoion is immediately below the gully which allows the crossing of the mountainous ridge, on the southern side, and from there roads can lead either directly south (Thebes) or towards the west (Acraiphia and the Copais). The Kalapodi sanctuary is at the very top of the road which comes up from the coast and Locris (Atalanti), and precisely where it splits into two possible roads: one heading south-west, towards Elatea and inner Phocis, and the other towards the south-east, to Hyampolis and, further, Orchomenus and western Boeotia. To sum up, both sanctuaries seem to be located close to a decisive *triodos*, and one may wonder whether this situation may have played a role in the rise of oracles in both. Anyway, it certainly may help us to understand why these two cult places belong to the category of Greek sanctuaries which received, at the end of the Geometric period and during the early Archaic, imports of luxury goods coming from further areas: Thessaly, Euboea, the Aegean, the Middle East. Their opening up to maritime connections was decisive at several stages of their history, and they might be candidates for the 'connectivity' process, but within a distinctive, elite use of maritime connections. However, other aspects of both sanctuaries illustrate completely different aspects. At Kalapodi, the offerings of weapons (especially swords), chariot-wheels, and the wall paintings depicting hoplites speak a completely different language: that of an elite, again, but with a distinctive warrior identity. At the present stage, it is hard to know who exactly these warriors were, or which community or communities they are associated with, but in this perspective the situation of the sanctuary at the very entrance of Phocis clearly takes on another meaning: that of a gate, precisely, which can be closed. In the same

way, the Apollo Ptoieus sanctuary seems to get, in the sixth century, more closely associated with local communities, starting with Acraiphia, and to receive a function as territorial landmark that it had not necessarily had before. In both cases, therefore, what is at stake is the exact nature and timing of articulation between the two dimensions, territorial and maritime: are they simultaneous and complementary as two facets of the elite definition; are they consecutive; can the emphasis be put alternatively on one or the other according to the context? Many kinds of answers are possible, except a generalising and one-sided model.

One last example will help to show how diverse the articulation between the maritime and the territorial perspectives can be (Polignac 2012). The Attic territory is crossed from north-east to south-west by a diagonal road which played an important role in the history of Athens, joining Marathon to Athens and Phaleron and crossing the low ridge between the eastern Mesogaia and the Athens plain proper at Pallene. One of the most dramatic episodes which took place on this road was the *marche forcée* of the Athenian hoplites who, after their victory over the Persians at Marathon, rushed back to the city in order to face a possible new landing of the Persians in the bay of Phaleron. As noted by Herodotus, the Athenians, who had encamped in a sanctuary of Heracles at Marathon, encamped in another Heracleion between Athens and Phaleron. Had this double presence of Heracles at both ends of a strategic road linking two important maritime places any significance? It is obvious that the bay of Marathon was a place open to invasions, as shown by the stories of Peisistratus' returns and by the landing of the Persians in 490. In many cases, the place which acts as the real gate protecting Athens and its plain is Pallene, where stood a very ancient and famous sanctuary of Athena: it is around this place and this sanctuary that all the stories of Peisistratus' return revolve. It is thanks to the protection of this specific Athena that the tyrant, in both episodes, can seize Athens. One may tentatively suppose that in the Archaic period (as far as we can know from Classical sources) the road and the system of cult built around it (Athena at Pallene, maybe Heracles at Marathon) have a role to play in the defence of Athens from maritime invasions from the north end of the territory. Rather interestingly, in the fifth century the same elements are reused in a different way, as shown by the legend of the Heraclids and its localisation in the Athenian territory. At first, Pallene became the main deme of the rural *trittys* of the tribe of Antiochis, whose eponym was one of Heracles' sons, thus reinforcing the connection of all this area with Heracles. But at the same time a complete reversal took place, as shown by Euripides' *Heraclidai*: the sons of Heracles arrive at Marathon not as invaders, but as suppliants welcomed by the sons of Theseus, while the invaders, Eurystheus and his army, come from the Isthmus and enter the Athenian territory at Eleusis. Pallene retains the pivotal function it always had, but the other way round: it is there indeed, in front of the temple of Athena Pallenis, that the old Iolaos recovers his youth and his strength thanks to the help of Hebe and Heracles, and can consequently pursue and capture Eurystheus in flight. The reversal of the

perspective can hardly be totally ascribed to the context of the play, during the Peloponnesian War, since the history was well known years before. It reflects a more ancient and deeper revision of spatial categories and representations, changing the relation between maritime and territorial perspectives.

These few examples will have shown, hopefully, how important it is to identify precisely the many different ways in which various spatial paradigms play, how their evolution in time or combining in space create many variable recompositions. Models may appear by identifying the combined factors which help to explain articulations and evolutions in a Mediterranean which offers widely diverse situations and many scales of transformation. The relation of sanctuaries to these topics is obvious, since their analysis remains one of the best ways to scrutinise ancient conceptions and constructions of space. This is why programmes of topographical inventories of sanctuaries known through archaeology have developed in recent years: in Paris, CIRCE (Cultual Constructions, Interpretations and Representations of Space in ancient societies: see circe-antique.huma-num.fr) for Greece, and Fana, Templa, Delubra for ancient Italy (under John Scheid's direction). Analysing with precision the topography and other aspects of cult appears as one of the best ways to access the understanding of space and societies.

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9

Modelling the Territories of Attic Demes: A Computational Approach

Sylvian Fachard

> The territorial aspect is at once the most basic and the most neglected element of polis organization. (Snodgrass 2006b: 278)

Introduction

The territoriality of Attic demes has been a matter of dispute, but the evidence for the existence of territorial limits now seems overwhelming – regardless of how concretely they were marked on the ground. Some of the deme limits, perhaps contested ones, were fixed precisely by rupestral *horoi*. The majority of them, however – like most borders separating city-states – consisted of sight lines linking natural features such as summits, ridges and gullies. Locating more deme limits in the future is important for the progress of Attic topography. Deme boundaries are also valuable for assessing the potential agricultural catchment of demes, and for studying the rural economies of Attica at the level of individual demes and larger regions. But since looking for rupestral *horoi* is not a solution *per se*, other methods should be considered. In this chapter, I stress the utility of a computational method for modelling the territories of the 139 Cleisthenic demes using geographic information systems (GIS). The limits produced by this model represent approximations which can be used as working hypotheses, in combination with known *horoi* and other established delimitations, and can also serve as guidelines for future fieldwork and border studies. Most importantly, this model offers the possibility to view Attica as a mosaic of micro-regions and deme territories instead of the usual dots on a map.

It is an honour to offer this short piece to Anthony Snodgrass, a scholar who was among the first to recognise the importance of borders and borderlands in field survey archaeology and who encouraged me to pursue their study.

Attic demes as micro-territories

The development of settlements and territorial modules in Attica

The word *demos* defines 'in the first place a certain type of community whose unity is conceived in relation to the territory it occupies'.[1] The

meaning of this old word can obviously vary from region to region, but it has a dual significance, geographic and human.[2] When Cleisthenes conducted his reforms in Attica, at the end of the sixth century BC, demes (or, better, proto-demes) had already been in existence for a long time.[3] In Attica, some 200 published 'sites' from 1100–500 BC are known, and close to seventy of them, outside Athens, were occupied in the sixth century.[4] A quarter of Classical demes show archaeological evidence of occupation by the Late Geometric, while the rest were progressively settled during the Archaic period.[5] On the basis of the archaeological evidence, unfortunately still patchy, it seems that some 100 communities of different sizes existed throughout Attica by the time Cleisthenes made his reforms.[6] The sites and settlements which progressively occupied the Attic land in the Iron Age and the Archaic period were communities exploiting the possibilities offered by their local environment. These different niches were topographically well defined by the communities exploiting them. Settlements farmed the closest available land, rarely situated farther than one hour's walk on average, which in turn meant that the agricultural base of these settlements had a topographical and, therefore, territorial reality. The latter was the result of a long, piecemeal process extending over several centuries of continuous population growth and agricultural exploitation. The formation of the Athenian *polis* appears to be the result of a progressive amalgamation of smaller competing territories, in a long process of enhanced interaction leading to the merging of different units into what would then become the *polis* of Athens.[7] By the sixth century BC, if not before, these units were most certainly called *demoi*, understood as local communities living on their own land.[8] It would reflect poor judgement to cut off a late sixth-century Attic village from its territorial and thus agricultural and economic reality. Denying the territorial basis of the deme communities – some of them occupied from the early Dark Age – would create more problems than solutions when dealing with the formation of such a large *polis* in the long term. It is hard to explain how the *polis* of Athens ended up controlling a territory of 2,400 sq km in the Classical period without the notion of local communities exploiting blocks of territory. The rural demes had an agricultural basis, which subsumed the exploitation of land, made up of variable percentages of alluvial surfaces, cultivable slopes, *eschatiai* and rocky hills.[9] The vision of an Attic rural community of the end of the sixth century BC living without a block of territory goes against the most basic foundations of human ecology.

Demes as territorial units

There has been an ongoing debate to decide whether or not these various communities occupying and exploiting the Attic land, whose official existence had been institutionalised by Cleisthenes' reforms as demes, consisted of blocks of territory delimited by precise boundaries. Thompson believed that deme boundaries did not exist, mainly because of the absence of boundary stones (Thompson 1971). However, rupestral *horoi* throughout central and southern Attica suggest that at least several dozen markers

did indeed indicate precise deme boundaries (Langdon 1985a; Traill 2000; Jones 1999: 58–69; Lalonde 2006: 93–100; Papazarkadas 2011: 157–8; see n. 19).

But was it always the case? The discussion has been well framed by Papazarkadas (2011: 156–62), who has highlighted the various occasions which may have necessitated the definition of deme boundaries. The epigraphical evidence of the fourth century shows that a deme could levy taxes on citizens from other demes who owned land within its territory, the well-known ἐγκτητικόν (Haussouiller 1884: 78–9; Langdon 1985a: 8; Whitehead 1986: 76, 150; Jones 1999: 64–5; Papazarkadas 2011: 124–5). Although this tax is only attested in a very few demes,[10] the following inference seems inescapable: it would require the presence of deme boundaries in order to be correctly applied (Langdon 1985a: 8). Still in the domain of taxation, the *eisphora* (Davies 1981: 143–50; Oliver 2006: 240–2; Papazarkadas 2011: 158) was levied on the basis of properties registered within the limits of each deme (at least down to 378 BC) and, therefore, constitutes further evidence for deme territoriality. An even greater indicator of territoriality is the fact that demes owned real property: agricultural land, pasturage, forest, quarries, workshops, theatres and houses (Papazarkadas 2011: 112). This land could be leased or even sold (Papazarkadas 2011: 111–55; Lambert 1997). *Poletai* records mention properties which are referred to by deme location, meaning that they were included in the deme's territory (Langdon 1985a: 8; Lambert 1997: 219–55; Jones 2004: 24–6; Papazakardas 2011: 159). These various operations within demes could only be achieved and enforced with the existence of limits, which become the necessary projection in space of the deme's economic authority.

But what about the time of Cleisthenes? Did deme limits exist, and if so, did they play any role in his reforms? Thompson insisted on the fact that Cleisthenes did not have time during his reforms to survey the land and fix boundaries (Lewis 1963; Thompson 1971). But I do not see why the latter must have necessarily happened in the first place. True, in the process, Cleisthenes was dealing primarily with human communities or villages (*pace* Thompson 1971 and Finley 1985: 74), mainly for the sake of their population and bouleutic quotas. But he did not need to deal personally with deme 'borders', except, perhaps, in some isolated instances, nor did he have to draw up deme boundaries on a proto-map. I believe it was always clear to him that each village also came with a block of territory, which had been exploited for generations and was an integral part of the community's identity. The demes which existed as communities and villages already had, *de facto*, limits which defined their vital surface. Within a *polis*, in most cases, there would have been no crucial need to mark the limits of a community's land, as these limits were known, recognised and accepted by neighbouring communities following generations of farming and land exploitation. Disputes might have erupted here and there, though I think, like Langdon (1985a: 6), that they were few and that they could have been relatively easily solved. For Cleisthenes, there was thus *no need*

for a cadastral survey,[11] or the demarcation of formal boundaries. The fact that these limits mattered little for Cleisthenes' reforms, however, is not a reason for downgrading their importance at the local level or for dismissing their existence.

The communities which were dispersed throughout Attic land at the end of the sixth century BC became constitutional units under Cleisthenes' reforms. But this political process should not ignore the economic realities of these communities: demes occupied, farmed and exploited a block of territory, which had been progressively acquired through their own formation process as a subsidiary unit of the larger *polis*. As much as we are ready to accept the deme as a microcosm of the *polis* itself, an idea which enjoys broad acceptance (Whitehead 1986; Parker 1987; 2007: 62–78; Papazarkadas 2011: 112), the concept of a (rural) deme without a territory is comparable to the case of a *polis* without a *chora* – an exceptional case, if not a fallacy.[12] In fact, inscriptions from Rhamnous indicate precisely this, by making clear reference to the deme's *chora*.[13] Demes had a territory, and this territory necessarily had spatial limits, regardless of their visibility in the archaeological record. In the next sections, we will inquire about the nature of deme boundaries and then explore different approaches for locating them.

The nature of deme boundaries

In recent decades, the study of the epigraphic evidence – primarily treaties, decrees, conventions, delimitations and Imperial letters – has greatly contributed to our present knowledge of borders separating ancient Greek city-states.[14] A unique and fascinating source of information found in this corpus is the depiction of ancient landscapes criss-crossed by various types of boundaries (Rousset 1994). One of the most telling aspects of this concerns the process of defining boundaries, which contains an array of technical terms. For example, the verbs *termazein* and *termonizein* describe the delimitation of boundaries, with the implication that a line is being defined, but not marked on the ground by the laying of boundary stones (Rousset 1994: 106; Casevitz 1993: 21–2). There is thus a distinction, also made by modern geographers, between *delimitation* and *demarcation*: 'Delimitation means the selection of a boundary site and its definition. Demarcation refers to the construction of the boundary in the landscape' (Prescott 1990: 13). A typical delimitation would consist of a list of features separating two entities, as in the delimitation between Delphi and Phlygonion-Ambryssos, which lists among boundary markers a thalweg, a hill called Kerdon, a road, a green oak tree, a *katopterion* ('lookout'), a ridge, a pointed rock, and Mt Parnassos (Rousset 2002: 85–91 no. 6; English translation of the inscription: McInerney 1999: 76–7). Similar delimitations have been widely used in Europe, from the Middle Ages to the present.[15] Such a distinction is fundamental for understanding the nature of Attic deme boundaries. If city-states could have their borders only delimited – that is, without being marked on the ground, but

defined by a list of topographical features – then the same is valid for the Attic *demoi*. In fact Rousset showed that the use of boundary stones was the exception to the rule. Technically speaking, the absence of boundary stones is not an argument for dismissing the existence of deme boundaries. Like the borders of most *poleis*, deme limits are likely to have consisted of lines of sight linking natural features such as summits, ridges and gullies.

When boundary stones are present, their use for demarcating *polis* boundaries as well as sacred and reserved areas situated in borderlands is well attested in various documents. For example, the Sacred Orgas situated in the Attic–Megarian borderlands was demarcated by a series of *horoi* in the middle of the fourth century.[16] For understanding how and where rupestral *horoi* were carved, as well as the role they played in a demarcation, a particularly telling example is the convention between the Lycian Confederacy and Termessos dated c. 160–150 BC. This remarkable text of 111 lines (which has benefited from a brilliant and exhaustive study by Rousset 2010) mentions the demarcation of Mt Masa, listing the location of the seventeen *horoi* which were engraved on the bedrock. No decree or convention deals with the delimitation/demarcation of an Attic deme, but such parallels help us conceive this process, giving a new light on the numerous rupestral *horoi* found in Attica. A board of *horistai* ('boundary commissioners'), whose presence is attested in Attica in the fourth century BC, could have well been hired to delimit or mark out contentious deme boundaries.[17] Demes had knowledge in demarcation.[18]

More than thirty rupestral *horoi* supposedly marking deme boundaries have been published in Attica, but their interpretation has been debated.[19] Ober has rightly warned us against the risks of misinterpreting the word *horos*, which could be used for a variety of different reasons and contexts, and by different authorities (Ober 1995; 2006). But the locations of *horoi* along ridges (which form natural boundaries), and isolated from nucleated settlements, constitute a strong case for deme boundaries. At present there seems to be a general consensus in favour of this opinion ((Langdon 1985a; Traill 2000; Jones 1999: 58–69; Lalonde 2006: 93–100; Papazarkadas 2011: 157–8).

An indirect parallel for rupestral *horoi* as deme boundary stones, mainly unnoticed by Attic scholars, should be considered here. Demes are well attested outside Attica, but Jones (1999: 68) deplored the absence of 'a single instance of the term "deme" designating a well-defined block of territory', as well as *horoi* in these states: 'No support, in short, can be found for a strictly territorial Athenian deme in those non-Athenian organizations making use of deme as a technical term.' This statement is incorrect. Indisputable evidence is found very close to Attica, in the territory of its eastern neighbour, Eretria. Near Dystos, in the southern district (*choros*) of the Eretriad, the rupestral inscription ὅρος δήμου leaves no doubt as to its interpretation: it divided the territories of two demes, perhaps those of Dystos to the north and Zarex to the south.[20] According to Knoepfler (1997: 374, n. 184), it was carved at the beginning of the fourth century, at the latest. The Dystos boundary *horos* is not an isolated case: another ὅρος δήμου was discovered on the Kliosi mountain range (Fig. 9.1),[21] probably

Figure 9.1 *Rupestral boundary marker at Mestiphi, south of Styra, Euboea. Photo: K. Reber, Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece.*

separating the demes of Styra to the north and Platauroi to the south. More should be found. It is perhaps not a coincidence that both inscriptions were found in the southern district of the Eretriad: this *choros* (as each district was called) corresponded for its major part to newly acquired land. Indeed, around c. 400 BC the territory of Eretria underwent a major reorganisation, both politically and territorially (Knoepfler 1997; Fachard 2012: 47–9). Knoepfler has shown that the new system was based on the Kleisthenic model, though adapted to the specific needs of the new *chora* (Knoepfler 1997: 400–2; Fachard 2012: 48). The territory was now divided between five *choroi*, which were vast territorial units of c. 200–250 sq km, and in which *c.* sixty demes were distributed.[22] The integration of new land into the 'new' Eretriad was accompanied by some internal territorial adjustments, rendering the use of deme boundaries necessary.[23] Therefore, it is clear that Eretrian demes were territorial units.[24] The Eretrian deme had an average radius of 2.7–2.8 km, which is strikingly close to the putative size of the average Attic deme (radius of 2.4–2.5 km).[25] More structural similarities link the *demoi* of the two neighbours, which shows a similar way of conceiving the deme.[26] Given the close similarities between the two *poleis* in terms of cultural ties, political organisation and size of respective demes and territory, it would be surprising if the Eretrians – copying the Athenian system – envisioned their demes as territorial units and the Athenians did not. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the Eretrian evidence provides another argument for the territoriality of Attic demes, as blocks of territory supporting individual communities and delimited by boundaries.

What deme boundaries 'meant' in the long term is another issue and a complicated one indeed. More challenging is to understand how the

different layers of public and sacred land worked together at both the level of the *polis* and that of the demes.[27] But the first reason that comes to mind for marking deme boundaries, at least in the fourth century and after, would be a need to mark the limits of the deme's economic jurisdiction. In some cases, taxation of property (*eisphora*) could have been hindered by hazy limits: if the property of X is located on the borders of Sounion and Amphitrope, which of the two should be responsible for levying taxes on it? This simple, yet perfectly plausible, question highlights a good reason for marking clear boundaries on the ground. Since demes owned real property, marking one deme's territory would in some cases have been necessary. It thus seems that the main reason for marking rural deme limits was economic. Administrative reasons can be cited too, such as the burying of corpses in the deme within the day of death, or the registration of metics.[28] Ideological factors, such as deme pride and deme identity (Lalonde 2006), were also among the reasons prompting the delimitations of deme boundaries. Marking territorial limits was not universal. It was most probably a piecemeal process, triggered instead by a deme's own agenda, and as highlighted above, it was never a condition *sine qua non* of Cleisthenes' reforms.

In any case, the use of rupestral *horoi* to delimit deme boundaries seems clearly to be the exception to the rule. Most deme limits were, more simply, not marked. Each deme's limits were certainly known by the demarch and most of the demesmen, rather as today's old Greek villagers show the limits of their *chorio* by pointing their cane to the surrounding hills. This reality does not presuppose the existence of a land cadaster at the scale of the deme, and certainly not at the level of the entire *chora*. The locally prominent topographical features forming deme limits were known and transmitted from generation to generation, forming a system based on collective memory. In some cases, they were written down in the deme's archives, containing important written documents such as the *lexiarchikon grammatikon*, accounts of the annual income, and property leases. Faraguna has argued that demes may have had land records (1997; 2000; see also Jones 1999: 69; Papazarkadas 2011: 161, 235). The demarchs – who knew 'who owned what in their deme', as Lewis puts it (1966: 183; Faraguna 1997: 23; Jones 1999: 69) – would be the designated officials for recording the situation of the land inside their deme. In comparison with the recording of properties, the listing of some thirty topographical features marking the limits of the deme was a simple task. In conclusion, the territorial limits of most Attic demes were delimited, but few were demarcated. It is now time to look into methods and approaches for locating deme limits.

Modelling deme limits: a computational approach

The arguments laid out above suggest that most boundaries were embodied by visual lines linking prominent geographical features. It is therefore possible to locate the hilltops and gullies that were used as deme boundaries.

Locating more *horoi* would constitute significant progress, although problems of interpretation would remain (date, significance, etc.). So looking for rupestral *horoi* is not a solution *per se*. In the remainder of this chapter, I present a computational approach for modelling the territories of Attic demes. This approach takes into account geographical factors, archaeological data and epigraphical evidence.

GIS offers a means of modelling regions and conducting site-catchment analysis.[29] Buffering (proximity analysis) based on the average size of an Athenian deme (radius of c. 2.3–2.5 km) and tessellation can define theoretical site territories (Connolly and Lake 2006: 208–13). Thiessen polygons have long been used in archaeology and regional settlement studies, and Bintliff applied the analysis to the demes of Attica.[30] They demarcate boundaries that are equidistant from all input points, in this case the deme centres (when they exist and are locatable). Once a theoretical deme territory has been delimited, it then becomes possible to use catchment analysis to study the available resources within it. Polygons remain very useful for ascribing land exploitation to the nearest site and for drawing potential agricultural territories for each settlement, the prelude to understanding deme territories. They are equally valuable for studying the different cells forming the territorial structure of polities, according to the concept of Renfrew's Early State Module (1986). In the cases of Attica and Eretria, where the average sizes of deme territories are known, buffering can be useful not only for revealing unoccupied space in the landscape, but also for understanding and studying site hierarchies. Thiessen polygons are also helpful for understanding the position of a deme centre within its hypothetical territory (Bintliff 1994). The downside of both is that they are based on Euclidean distance, which does not take into account topography or the effort – or 'cost' – required to walk through the landscape. Nor do they integrate the relative size or importance of each deme centre. Both methods thus have obvious limitations.

Cost-surface allocation

Cost-based methods of territorial modelling offer substantial advantages over those based on Euclidian distance alone. This approach can model territorial allocations which are based on the time and effort needed to walk through the landscape, which was obviously a crucial factor for defining micro-regions and communities. The use of cost-surfaces in archaeology has been used to model territories or site catchments (Connolly and Lake 2006: 224–5; Bevan 2010). Bevan showed (2010) the advantages of this method for modelling possible territorial allocations for the Cretan palaces of Knossos, Phaistos and Malia. In central Greece, it has been used by Knodell (2013: 160–4) for modelling the areas of influence of Mycenaean palaces. Here, I used a similar method for modelling the theoretical territories of Attic demes on the basis of travel cost (energy) (Fig. 9.2).[31]

But before commenting on the results, I should set out a series of obstacles which must be taken into account. First of all, not all Attic demes

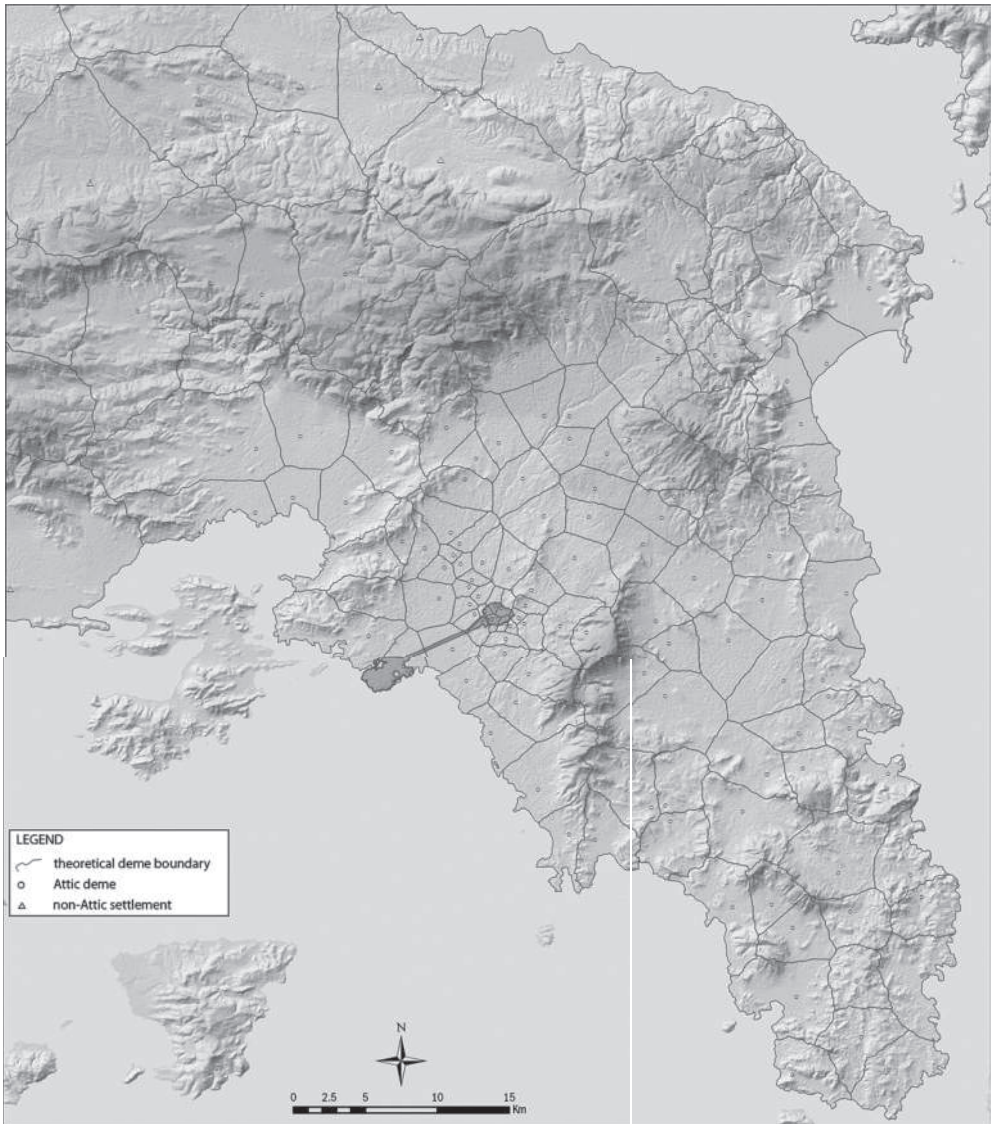

Figure 9.2 *Map of Attica showing 130 deme centres (and main non-Attic settlements) and theoretical deme boundaries modelled by a cost-surface allocation. S. Fachard.*

can be associated with a main nucleated settlement. This problem is well known and does not need to be examined here (Bintliff 1994; Osborne 1985: 35–7; Lohmann 1993: 126–8; Oliver 2001: 150). Secondly, the location of some two dozen demes is still unknown, while a fair number of others can only be assigned to a general area. Thirdly, some demes, like Atene, did not have a nucleated settlement, while others, like Sounion, Acharnai or Aphidna, had several of them (Kellogg 2013: 26–34). And

yet, in order to conduct a cost-surface allocation, each deme must coincide with a single 'point' on our map. These limitations are obviously problematic if we aspire to reach a high level of topographical accuracy. But this is not our case. We tolerate (and must accept) an error of several hundreds of metres, which is the consequence of knowing only the approximate location of dozens of demes.[32] Another problem is the fact that this model still fixes a notional limit midway between two centres. Future work may benefit from taking bouleutic numbers into account, so that a populous deme of several hundred individuals would have more influence and be allocated more surface than a deme of a few dozens.[33] In this exercise, 130 demes were mapped; this number includes a dozen archaeologically nucleated settlements which have not yet been identified with a deme. With a very few exceptions, I have followed Traill's latest identifications (2000; 1986 (with references)). In order to achieve the highest possible level of topographical and archaeological accuracy, I have mapped the main archaeological sites of Attica in the GIS.[34] Thus, each deme centre is placed at its most probable position given the present state of research, and always placed where ancient remains are attested.[35]

Confronting the cost-allocation model with the horoi

The cost-surface territorial allocation of the 130 demes mapped here can be aligned with other sources of information, mainly the geography and the *horoi*. First, it appears that the modelled borders between the demes most often relate to the topography by adopting natural delimitations such as mountains, hills and ridges. This is not surprising given that natural features were predominantly used as boundaries in Greek city-states. And as shown above, there is no reason to believe that this was not the case with numerous deme boundaries. This result confirms the validity of the cost-surface allocation model. A next step is testing this model against evidence from the *horoi* and integrating three layers of information: the deme centres, the theoretical deme limits based on the cost-surface allocation model, and the *horoi* supposed to demarcate deme boundaries.[36]

The large majority of *horoi* interpreted as boundary markers appear to be situated very close to the modelled boundaries (Fig. 9.3).[37] First, there is an impressive number of 'great matches', nineteen *horoi* falling within c. 200 m of theoretical limits (well within the margin of error). Among this group, seven *horoi* are within 100 m. For example, the ancient 'Grenzstein' reported in the *Karten von Attika* east of Anavyssos (Traill 1986: 117, 8; Stanton 1996: 355–7; Schiller 1996: 388–9) (Fig. 9.3, no. 1) happens to be at the theoretical junction of three demes (Anaphlystos, Amphitrope and Besa). This might not have been the case, of course, but it raises the possibility – never mentioned before to my knowledge – of having *horoi* carved at the borders of more than two demes. The modelled boundaries between Halai Aixonides and Anagyrous run along the Kaminia ridge and hit the two *horoi* found there (Fig. 9.3, no. 2); in

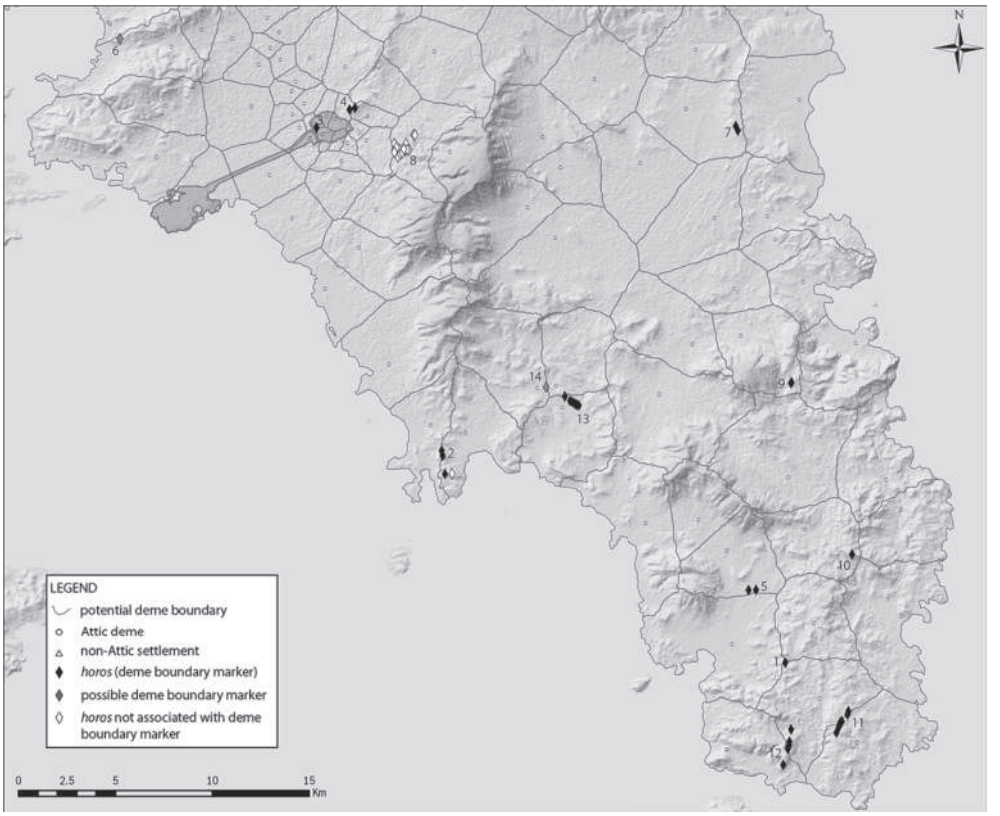

Figure 9.3 *Map of central and southern Attica showing the deme centres, potential deme boundaries and published* horoi *supposed to mark deme boundaries. S. Fachard.*

fact, the position of the northernmost *horos* (Fig. 9.4) is one metre away from the limit.[38] The *horos* separating Melite and Kollytos falls just a few dozen metres north of the projected boundaries between the two demes (Fig. 9.3, no. 3).[39] The two Lykabettos *horoi* fall within the error margin of the possible borders between Kydathenaion and Ankyle Kathyperthen (Fig. 9.3, no. 4).[40] The modelled boundaries separating the demes of Thria and Kettos run roughly along the Kapsalonas ridge of Mt Aigaleo; if indeed the large basis recorded by Travlos supported a *horos* (Travlos 1937: 37 and fig. 18; Papangeli 2009: 129), then the limit boundary line would hit it (Fig. 9.3, no. 6). The *horoi* found on the Zagani hill (Athens airport) fall 200–300 m away from the potential western borders of Halai Araphenides (Fig. 9.3, no. 7).[41] These are all very close matches given the accuracy of the model. In my opinion, they are certainly close enough to prove that the method is, to a large extent, extremely valuable. In any case, the model seems to corroborate that the above-mentioned *horoi* mark deme boundaries, or at least must have something to do with them.

Figure 9.4 *Rupestral boundary marker on the Kaminia ridge, separating Halai Aixonides from Anagyrous. S. Fachard.*

The model also appears to confirm that some *horoi* were not deme boundary markers, by highlighting their central place in the deme's territory. Most scholars have dismissed the possibility that the twenty *horoi* found around Alepovouni were deme boundary markers (Ober 1981; Lauter 1982; Stanton 1984; 1996: 361–2; Langdon 1985b; Traill 1986; 117, 3; Stanton Schiller 1996: 352–63). The model corroborates this opinion, since seventeen of them have a central position in what appears to be the theoretical territory of Potamos Hypernethen (Fig. 9.3, no. 8).[42] The model is also helpful for interpreting *horoi* and defining the demes that might have commissioned their engraving. The two *horoi* found west of Ari are very difficult to map with accuracy, but their approximate location appears to be a few hundred metres from the theoretical boundaries between Anaphlystos and Phrearroi (Fig. 9.3, no. 5).[43] The *horos* found on Mousaki hill might mark a boundary between the demes of Thorikos and Poros, perhaps also Potamos Deiradiotes – Besa being too far south (Fig. 9.3, no. 10) (Lohmann 1993: 54, 109–10; Schiller 1996: 379). The horoi found east of Merenda (Fig. 9.3, no. 9) by Langdon and Camp should mark the limits between Prasia and Myrrhinous (Traill 1986: 117. 5, 120; Stanton 1996: 360).

The model is more directly tested when applied to boundary lines formed by larger concentrations of *horoi*. A good example is found in the southern tip of Attica, where two groups (eleven *horoi*) seem to separate large extents of the deme territories of Atene, Amphitrope and Sounion.[44] Arguably, the cost-allocation model cannot be applied here, because Atene famously had no deme centre, and Sounion had many foci of settlement.[45] I nevertheless selected two points,[46] but we should expect the model to be less relevant for demes that either lacked a nucleated centre or had many. In spite of these limitations, it appears that the theoretical limit between Sounion and Amphitrope is parallel with the line given by Lohmann, only pushed back a couple of hundred metres to the west (Fig. 9.3, no. 11). In the case of the Atene–Amphitrope border, the theoretical boundary hits one *horos*, while two others are c. 200 m away (Fig. 9.3, no. 12).[47] The result is, therefore, positive. Also, the cost-allocation model connects these eleven *horoi* with the *Grenzstein* of the *Karten* mentioned above, which appears as the northern limit of Amphitrope. Thus, the combination of data allows us to map with a fair degree of plausibility the entire deme territory of Amphitrope. If this reconstruction is correct, the deme would appear to have the highest number of known *horoi* marking its boundaries. Is this the result of a new demarcation following disputes? Potential motives, related mostly to mining activities, come to mind. Indeed, the exact position of mines and ore-smelting workshops in the midst of floating deme boundaries between Amphitrope and Sounion might have led to disputes or tax-property issues, pushing for a new demarcation of deme boundaries in the area.

I will conclude this brief survey with a case in which the model might offer a contribution to deme locations. This case concerns the location of the deme centres of Lamptrai Kathyperthen, Lamptrai Hypernerthen and Pambotodai, as well as the interpretation of the *horoi* (found near Thiti), which read OPƧΠM (Fig. 9.5) and have been interpreted in a variety of ways (Fig. 9.3, no. 13).[48] We must first start with the location of the deme centres. It has been proposed that Lamptrai Kathyperthen was located at Lambrika, but this identification has been challenged by Lauter.[49] As for Lamptrai Hypernerthen, three possible concentrations of remains between Kitsi and Makrya Pefka could equally serve the need of a deme centre (Lauter 1993: 87–96, and map on pl. 35). Finally, a smaller concentration of remains at Thiti has been identified as the possible deme centre of Pambotidai (Lauter 1993: 96–7, 149–50). The cost-allocation model can thus be run for the following two cases: the first one, supported by Eliot (1962: 55–6) and Traill (1986: 126; 2000: 909), places Lamptrai Kathyperthen at Lambrika and Lamptrai Hypernerthen at Kitsi; the second, defended by Lauter (1993: 149–50), puts Lamptrai Kathyperthen at Kitsi-Vurvatsi-Lambrika, Lamptrai Hypernerthen at Makrya Pefka, and Pambotodai at Thiti. In the first example, the theoretical boundaries between the two Lamptrai appear to be more than 1 km away from the line of *horoi* running along the Makrya Pefka ridge (Fig. 9.6a). This is the only case where the model utterly fails to match even remotely a

Figure 9.5 *Rupestral boundary marker OPΓΠM on the Makrya Pefka ridge, near Kitsi. S. Fachard.*

line of supposed deme *horoi*. In this case, the model would then dismiss the *horoi* as deme limits between the two Lamptrai. In the second case, the theoretical boundaries hit the westernmost *horos* and pass some 360 m away from the other five (Fig. 9.6b). Moreover, the HO *horoi* at the Panaghia Thiti (Fig. 9.7 and Fig. 9.6b, no. 14) could well be related to the sanctuary located there (Lauter 1993: 91–3; Andrikou and Douni 2008: 371), but it also appears to be a few dozen metres away from the possible

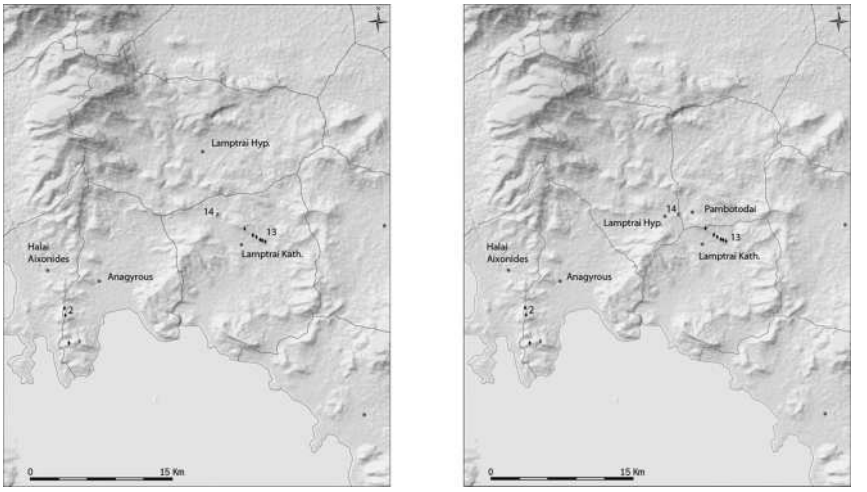

Figure 9.6a–b *Two hypotheses regarding the interpretation of the* horoi *running along the Makrya Pefka ridge and the position of the surrounding demes. S. Fachard.*

Figure 9.7 *Rupestral boundary marker HO near Kitsi. S. Fachard.*

border between Pambotodai and Lamptrai Kathyperthen. No solution is preferred here, but the cost-allocation model would promote the *horoi* as boundary markers between Lamptrai Hypernerthen and Pambotodai (or another deme). This example illustrates how the comparison of the cost-allocation model and boundary markers can stimulate the discussion about deme localisations and offer a tool for the interpretation of *horoi*.

In conclusion, I believe that the proximity of the *horoi* to theoretical boundary lines modelled by the cost-allocation model cannot be coincidental. Future research in deme topography might obviously change these numbers and prove them wrong. But in the present state of research, the *horoi* considered above must have something to do with the deme boundaries modelled by the cost-allocation model. If indeed they are deme boundary markers, as most commentators now believe, then the model is valid for suggesting deme territorial limits. Even if the *horoi* are not boundary markers, but private ones, then the latter are nevertheless connected with the boundaries proposed by the cost-allocation model, suggesting that these private properties might have been delimited precisely because they might have been close to deme boundaries.

Deme territories, population and agricultural potential

Thanks to the cost-allocation model, the *probable* surface of each deme can be measured and compared to its bouleutic quota.[50] The differences between the demes in size and population density can be compared and analysed. Just in terms of size, 107 demes have a territory of less than 24 sq km, eighteen demes have a territory of 24–48 sq km, and only five demes have a territory larger than 66 sq km. The largest deme appears to be Oinoe, in the Mazi plain. The largest demes are found in the borderlands. No deme seems to exceed 85 sq km.

A territorial analysis can be completed by displaying the agricultural surfaces.[51] In this exercise, the goal was to map the most suitable land for agriculture (mainly grain) at the global level (Fig. 9.8).[52] Following this method, the supposed surface of agricultural land under a slope of 7 per cent was c. 880 sq km; this is 35 per cent of fourth-century Attica (surface of 2,400 sq km). Had this entire surface been devoted to grain, half of it could be cultivated each year (with fallow), thus c. 440 sq km (17.5 per cent). This estimate is deliberately cautious, but it comes near to the surface dedicated to grain in 1911 (495 sq km), as shown by Bresson.[53] Additional surfaces created by terracing must be added, but this number is an unknown factor. Obviously this model does not take into account past environmental conditions (the effects of the weather on crops) and ancient geomorphology. The result is an estimate of the current potential, not the ancient land use, as the percentages of land dedicated to grain, olive and vine will always remain unknown. With these limitations in mind, a better idea of each Attic deme's agricultural catchment can be grasped. There is no time to expose more than one or two of them. For example, the

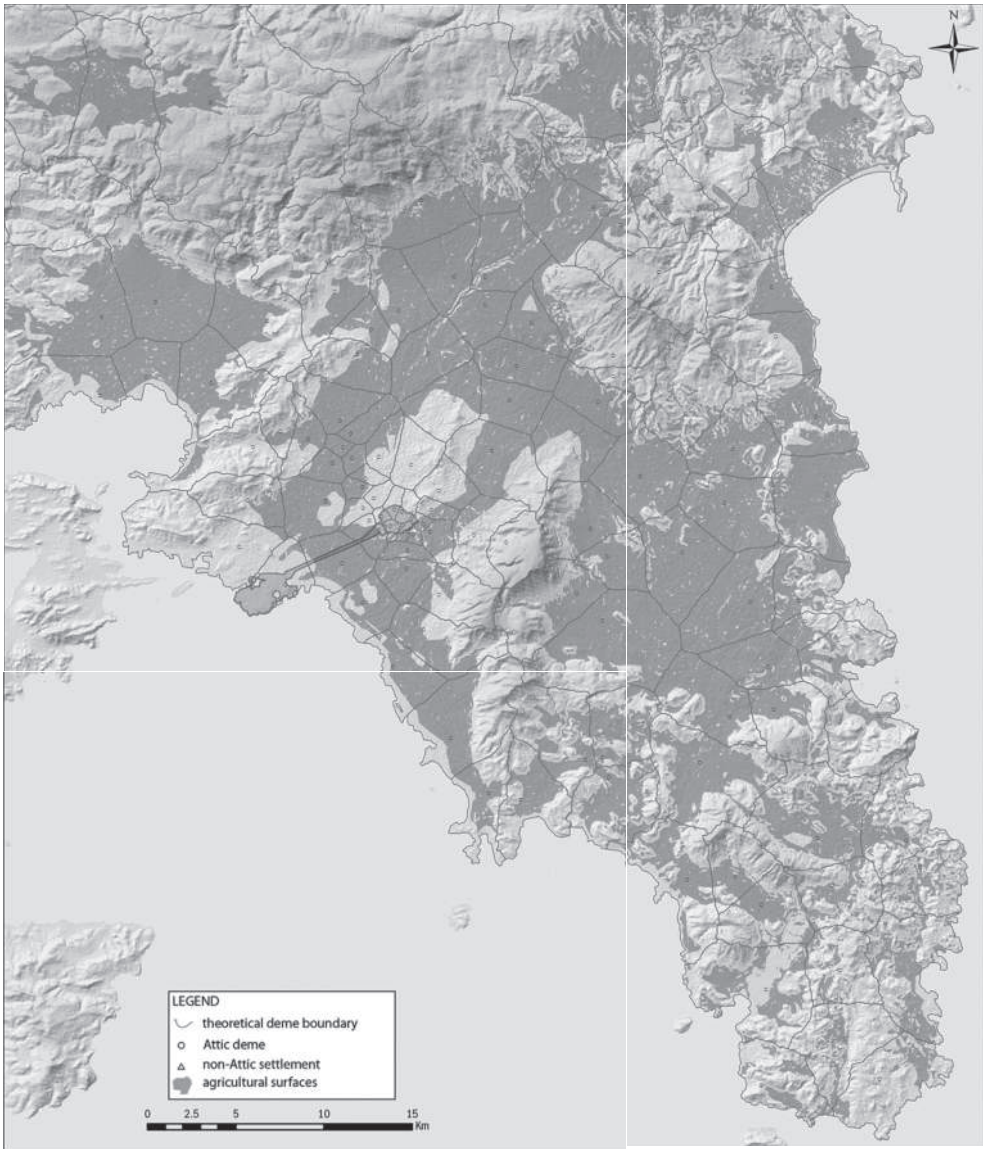

Figure 9.8 *Map of Attica showing the theoretical agricultural surfaces. S. Fachard.*

model attributes to the deme of Besa (2 *bouleutai*) a territory of 15 sq km and a potential agricultural surface of 2.8 sq km (18 per cent of the deme's surface). The deme is well known for its mining leases, but this surface might have been sufficient to feed a population of 370–470.[54] In this region of Attica, among the most arid according to modern precipitation data, terracing could have substantially augmented agricultural surfaces. By comparison, the model attributes to Dekeleia (4 *bouleutai*) a territory of 66 sq km and an agricultural surface of 9 sq km (13 per cent of the

deme surface), perhaps enough to feed 1,190–1,700 individuals. The deme enjoyed much higher precipitation rates than Besa. The agricultural surface is exclusively concentrated in the southern portion of the deme, where the deme centre was located. Rhamnous (8 *bouleutai*) has a theoretical territory of 24 sq km and an agricultural surface of 4.6 sq km (19 per cent). Had this entire surface been dedicated to barley, it could have produced enough grain to sustain a population of 600–750 individuals for one year, while some sixty workers would have been needed to farm this surface.[55] This was perhaps barely enough for the deme's population, but not for the garrison living there in the Hellenistic period. Shortage was never far away.[56] Last, the mountain deme of Phyle (2, then 4 *bouleutai*) appears to be lacking in agricultural surface. This fits well with Pan's words in the opening lines of Menander's *Dyskolos*: 'the villagers and people could farm the stones there'. The deme's most obvious natural resources were elsewhere: game, wood, charcoal, cheese, leather and honey. However, terracing and the abundance of water would have permitted the demesmen to grow some grain and to lay out gardens around the settlement.[57] This is not the place to give the particulars of each deme. Numbers do not mean much if they are not put into perspective, mainly by adding the essential layer of archaeological features (deme centres, farms, towers, graves, roads, sanctuaries, etc.). Such an analysis requires collaborative work and must be conducted for each deme individually.[58] Despite its limitations, the cost-allocation model might be a solid lead into the study of the micro-economies of Attica.

There is another area of study in which the cost-allocation model brings a luminous – and perhaps unexpected at first – contribution: the borders of Attica itself. By extending the analysis environment to the main settlements of Boeotia and Megara, the territories of the Attic border demes are modelled in connection with their foreign neighbours (Fig. 9.9). Thus, a first hypothetical limit can be drawn by contouring the modelled territories of the Attic border demes. The track of this theoretical border is plausible, following natural obstacles such as ridges and summits. Immediately beyond this line, things get immensely more complex, as we find numerous communities and micro-territories which switched hands in the course of their long history without becoming Attic constitutional demes. The theoretical border can subsequently be refined (Fig. 9.10) by taking into account historical factors such as the loss of Oropos or the occupation of Eleutherai[59] by the Boeotians/Thebans. The borders diachronically moved along those zones, but the cost-allocation model is also a most valid starting point for studying the borders of Attica.[60]

Conclusions

In this chapter, a cost-application method was applied for outlining Attic deme boundaries using GIS. The results were compared with the boundary markers believed to have demarcated such limits. The exercise demonstrates that these *horoi* fall approximately at mid walking distance

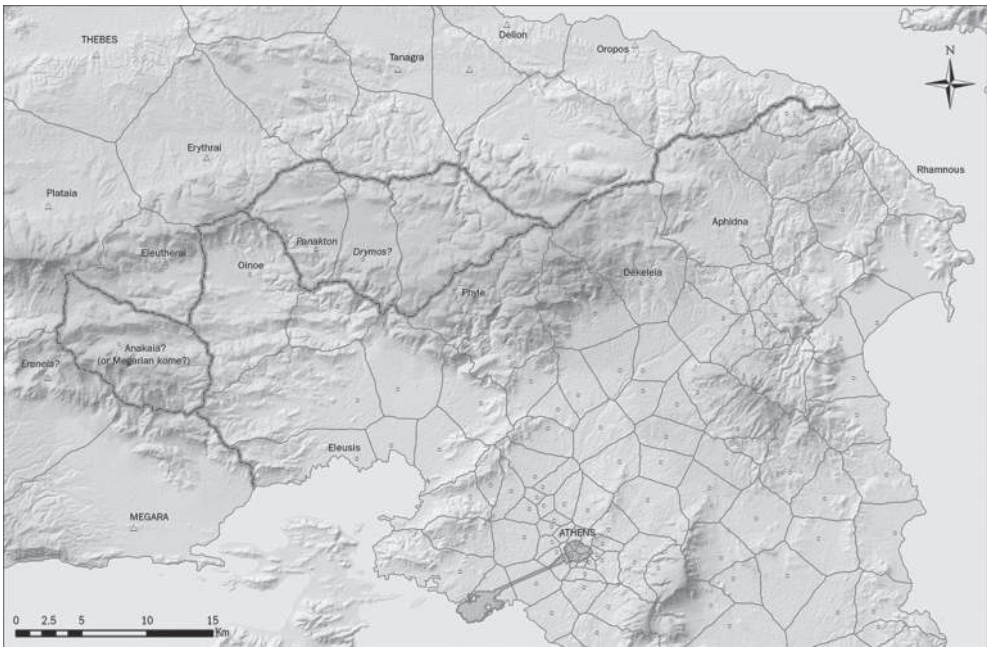

Figure 9.9 *Attic demes, Megarian and Boeotian settlements with potential boundaries modelled by a cost-surface allocation. By outlining the limits of the Attic demes, it is possible to draw the theoretical borders of Attica. S. Fachard.*

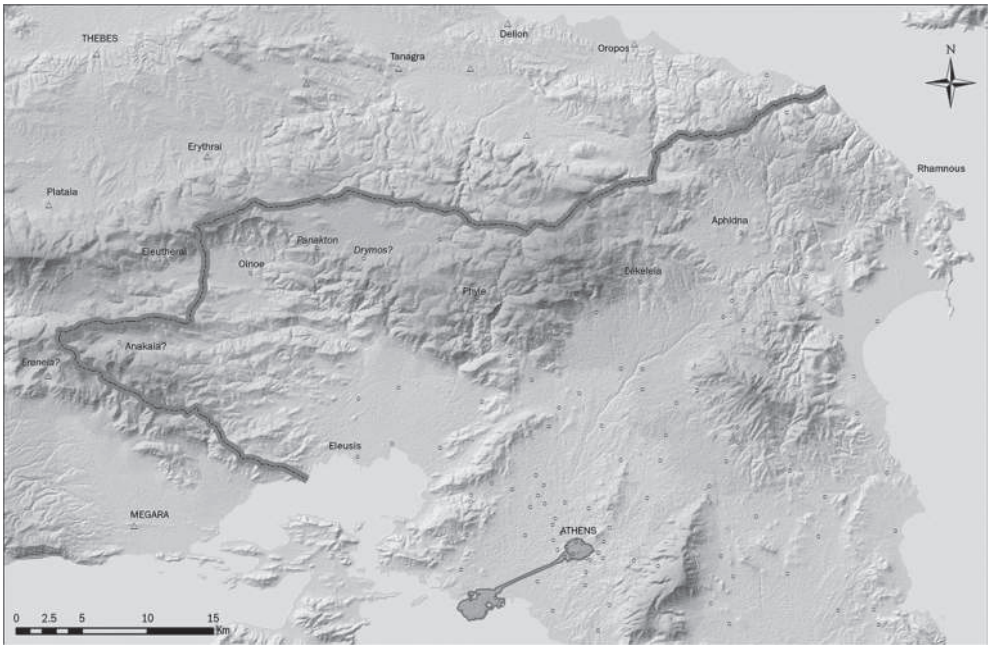

Figure 9.10 *Suggested borders of Attica for the years 366–338* BC. *S. Fachard.*

between two demes, which strongly suggests that these are complementary approaches to identifying deme boundaries. The resulting map shows that the modelled boundaries fall close enough to these *horoi* to validate the use of this tool for modelling potential deme territories and for decoding rupestral boundary markers, whose position can be interpreted on the basis of this grid of analysis. The model provides a spatial authority for diminishing the level of subjectivity that characterises the interpretation of each *horos* (on the problem of subjectivity, see Ober 1995: 121). It is also a valuable tool for clarifying the nuances of Attic topography, for predicting or confirming the location of deme centres and for classifying sites inside a deme territory.

The cost-allocation model is obviously more a heuristic tool than a definitive result. These deme limits represent rough approximations and should be used as working hypotheses. Boundaries are the result of a complex sum of factors. It would be naïve to believe that they depended on a single one, in this case the mid-distance between two deme centres based on the cost of walking. The latter might have been an important factor, but by no means was it the only one. There are also chronological factors:[61] demes were living organisms; their boundaries evolved in the course of their long history. It is a mistake to consider demes synchronically (Papazakardas 2011: 156). Furthermore, the map of deme centres still has to be perfected. In fact, the most prudent might argue it is too early to apply this method. Therefore, the resulting map should be taken as a product of its time, which will evolve alongside future progress in deme topography.

The goal of this exercise was never to build up a network of boundary lines or fixed frames locking up pieces of territory. This model stimulates deme research by forcing us to look at the deme in its totality, as a community living and exploiting a *terroir*.[62] It is not the frame that matters so much here, but 'what it frames', to quote Febvre.[63] Consequently, more interesting than the potential deme delimitations are the individual frames for studying each deme as a territorial unit both independently and in relation to its neighbours. By providing a study frame for each deme – which might change in the light of new discoveries and progress, although perhaps not dramatically – it becomes possible to analyse the relationship between the deme's settlement pattern, population and agricultural resources. Such possibilities were envisioned by Ober (1995: 117–18) but never pursued because of the impossibility of mapping deme boundaries at the scale of the entire *chora*. The present model offers a way forward. Finally, it offers for the first time the possibility of viewing the Attic land as a more realistic mosaic of deme territories instead of the usual dots on a map. This can be useful for grouping deme territories together and studying coherent regions and micro-regions (on the regions of Attica, see van der Vliet 1994; Oliver 2006). This spatial fragmentation highlights the rich and complex assemblage of diverse regions and territorial fragments which formed the *polis* of Athens, from core to periphery. Attica increasingly appears to have 'real unity made of associated diversities'.[64]

Acknowledgement

I am indebted to A. R. Knodell, who introduced me to cost-based territorial modelling in GIS, shared conversations on related topics, and commented on early drafts of this chapter. I am also extremely grateful to Josh Ober for his penetrating feedback and encouragement. Special thanks must go to Jeremy McInerney for closely reading and greatly improving this chapter. Last but not least, I am very grateful to Nikolaos Papazarkadas for his erudite suggestions and corrections, which helped me avoid errors and imprecisions. All remaining errors are mine. My work in Attica has been made possible thanks to the Swiss National Science Foundation and the University of Geneva.

Notes

1. Werlings 2010: 268. The polysemy of the word is old and varies from region to region.
2. 'C'est le "pays", le "territoire", en tant qu'il est occupé par des hommes qui le cultivent, en tirent leur subsistance et éprouvent pour lui un attachement presque sentimental' (ibid.). See also Lejeune 1965; Whitehead 1986: 367; Jones 1999: 54, 68.
3. Whitehead 1986: 5–16 (with references). On the reforms, see among others Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet 1964; Ostwald 1988; Ober 1999: 32–52; Elden 2003; 2013: 31–7; Kienast 2005.
4. This rough account is based on Morris 1989: 222–33; see also Petropoulakou and Pentazos 1973: esp. fig. 22; for a recent overview of the sacred landscape, see van den Eijnde 2010.
5. Snodgrass 1982: 687 (map 21); 2006a: 208–9; Trail 1975; Bintliff 1994: 232; van der Vliet 1994.
6. On this number, see Lohmann 1993: 56, 270, 292; Kienast 2005: 88. There was still enough room left in the Attic peninsula for the creation of some thirty 'new' demes. According to Traill's estimate, perhaps as many as thirty 'new' demes were created by Cleisthenes; among these were the demes whose names ened in *-idai*, 'very small communities often with unknown or very tentative locations' (Traill 1975: 101). In the light of the available (and incomplete) archaeological evidence, this claim seems reasonable.
7. This is not the place to address the complex issue of Athenian *polis* formation. See among others: Snodgrass 1982: 668–9; 2006a: 204–18; Morris 1989; Whitley 1991; Parker 1996: 10–28; Hansen 2004: 624–6. Obviously this complex process did not take place in isolation, as demonstrated by Renfrew's Early State Module (ESM) and its underlying process of Peer Polity Interaction (Renfrew and Cherry 1986). For the development of settlement in Dark Age to Classical Attica, see Bintliff 1994: 231–2; 1999. For a model of settlement growth, see Rihll and Wilson 1991.
8. Whitehead 1986: 364–8 (with reference to previous discussion). On the Mycenaean *da-mo* as a 'local administrative entity of agricultural vocation', see Lejeune 1965. See also Werlings 2010.
9. On Attic *eschatiai*, see now Jameson 2002; Krasilnikoff 2010; Papazarkadas 2011: 134, 159–60, 168, 223.
10. 'The problem is that this tax might not have been as universal as usually assumed': Papazarkadas 2011: 124. See also Whitehead 1986: 76 n. 38, 150.

11. Although there might have been no need for such a survey, I agree with Langdon that recording the limits of each deme (without drawing them) was not an unsurmountable task: 'Notes recording the physical features which each community regarded as defining the limits of its territory sufficed' (Langdon 1985a: 6).
12. According to Hansen (2004: 71), 'every polis had a territory and the concept of the Polis ohne Territorium, coined by Franz Hampl, should be abandoned as a fallacy'.
13. This evidence, detected by Papazarkadas, adds another strong argument in favour of deme territoriality (Papazarkadas 2011: 159 and n. 284). See also a possible mention of the territory of the deme as *Rhamnousia* (Petrakos 1993: 7–8; Petrakos 1999: II, 253; Oliver 2006: 228).
14. See Rousset 1994; 2002; 2010; Chaniotis 1996. For a collection of texts related to borders, see Daverio Rocchi 1998.
15. Nordman 1998: 33, 72, 80–1, etc. Summits, ridges and mountain torrents are used as delimitations between Switzerland and Italy. See for example the convention between both countries concerning the rectification of the border, which is situated along the Breggia torrent (convention 0.132.454.221).
16. *IG* II², 204; on the Sacred Orgas, see now Papazarkadas 2011: 244–59 (with references).
17. When the Athenians held Oropos in the fourth century and consecrated some of the land to Amphiaraos, a board of fifty *horistai* was appointed to accomplish the task. See Knoepfler 2012: 444–48; Papazarkadas 2011: 45–7, 102–3.
18. Nikolaos Papazarkadas has kindly brought to my attention two inscriptions dealing with demarcations: *horistai* are mentioned in the Piraean decree on the protection of the Thesmophorion (*IG* II² 1177) and *IG* II² 1180 calls for the appointment of three men, οἵτινες ὁριοῦσιν τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ Λευκίου.
19. The most exhaustive catalogues of *horoi* supposed to separate demes have been assembled by Traill 1986: 117 and Schiller 1996: 351–89. On their interpretation, see: Thompson 1971; Ober 1981; 1995; Traill 1982; 1986: 116–22; Stanton 1984; 1996; Langdon 1978; 1985a; 1985b; 1988a; 1988b; 1999; Whitehead 1986; Lohmann 1993; Schiller 1996: 219–63, 351–89; Jones 1999: 59–64; Salliora-Oikonomakou 2001; Lalonde 2006; Krasilnikoff 2010; Papazarkadas 2011: 156–9. There are reports of many *horoi* found by Langdon, whose publication we eagerly anticipate.
20. On the inscription and its discovery, see Apostolidis and Apostolidis 1988 (*SEG* 41, 723); see also Knoepfler 1997: 374–5; Fachard 2012: 73, 330. On the demes of Dystos and Zarex, see Fachard 2012: 71–3, 202–19.
21. Moutsopoulos 1982: 349–67; the text was corrected by Reber 2002: 45–6; *SEG* 52, 820.
22. This territorial organisation, based on two territorial levels (*choroi* and demes), was grafted on to the older system of the tribes without modifying it. Each of the six tribes, named after Eretrian heroes (Mekistis, Narkitis, Oeonis, etc.), comprised some ten demes from the five districts. On the tribes, see Knoepfler 1997: 389–400; 2010: 104–23; Knoepfler and Ackermann 2012.
23. It is also possible that the Eretrian state functioned as an arbitrator, settling some (old) disputes between the newly integrated demes. But this should obviously not exclude the presence of other *horoi demou* in other parts of the 'older' Eretriad.
24. Archaeological evidence shows that they were settled by communities of different sizes living in one or several nucleated centres (or dispersed hamlets).

For example of deme centres, see Fachard 2012. A few demes might have been urban neighbourhoods, although this remains obscure; see Knoepfler 1997: 363.

25. Obtained by dividing the surface of the territory (c. 1,400 sq km) by the 55–60 demes; see Fachard 2012: 76, 87.
26. As in Athens, each Eretrian deme also had a demarch (*IG* XII 9, 90, 139, 189; Knoepfler 1997: 371–4); Eretrian citizens had a home deme and kept a demotic regardless of where they lived; they equally belonged to a tribe (see n. 22).
27. These issues have been exhaustively studied by Papazarkadas 2011. See also Rousset 2013.
28. Whitehead 1977: 73–4; Lalonde 2006: 96–7; Papazarkadas 2011: 159. Metic participation in a deme was organised on a 'territorial basis with respect to place of residence within the precisely defined spatial limits of the deme' (Jones 1999: 67). On the distribution of metics, see Jones 2004: 67–8.
29. On site-catchment analysis, see Vita-Finzi and Higgs 1970; Bintliff 1994. On site-catchment analysis using GIS, see Hunt 1992; Farinetti 2011.
30. On Thiessen polygons, see Renfrew 1978; Hodder and Hassell 1971; Renfrew and Level 1979 for their Xtent model; Cherry 1987; Decourt 1990; Wilkinson 1994; Farinetti 2011. For the use of Thiessen polygons in Attica, see Bintliff 1994; 1999; 2012: 216. Van der Vliet (1994) used Thiessen polygons for modelling regional centres.
31. The method used here follows Knodell's, whom I kindly thank for assisting me (my thanks also go to Th. Garrison). I have used a 30m digital elevation model, a partially anisotropic cost surface algorithm (based on cost values given by Minetti et al. 2002), and the cost allocation tool in ArcGIS.
32. Clearly the model becomes more valuable when deme centres are known with accuracy, which still happens to be the case for an important number of demes (Rhamnous, Eleusis, Oinoe, Thorikos, Pallene, Ikaria, etc.).
33. A way of taking this important factor into account is to adopt the Xtent model, first developed by Renfrew and Level (1979; Cherry 1987) and used by Bevan (2010) for Minoan Crete. In this model, it is assumed that the 'influence of a centre is proportional to a function of its size, and declines linearly with distance' (Renfrew and Level 1979: 149). In the case of the Attic deme, the best available indicator of its 'size' (at least in Cleisthenes' time), and therefore the influence it exerted over the landscape, would be its bouleutic quota.
34. I have also georeferenced the *Karten von Attika*, which are an indispensable and irreplaceable source of information for the location of Attic demes and for providing an 'archaeological map' of Attica preceding its dramatic urbanisation.
35. Obviously, in a lot of cases, the choice of one archaeological site over another is still arbitrary. This uncertainty generates the inaccuracy mentioned above. However, the displacement of a deme centre in a radius of some 100–400 metres will not generate dramatic modifications, since a non-negligible stability is given by the demes which are precisely attested and by the density of demes on the Attic peninsula. A higher level of topographical precision for deme locations is strongly desired but hindered by the present state of knowledge. Progress is expected in the future, so such a territorial allocation model is meant to evolve.
36. All published rupestral *horoi* supposed to demarcate a separation between demes were mapped. Catalogues of *horoi* have been provided by Traill 1986, Goette 1994, and Schiller 1996 (with references). I also mapped the twenty-one Alepovouni *horoi*, although none of them, to my knowledge, has been interpreted as being a deme boundary. It was not possible to pinpoint each *horos* with a GPS. Some descriptions allow only a vague localisation (error

range of 100–400 m?), but the ridges on which they lay are sufficient moorings. Nevertheless, this approximation is not fatal given the extent of our study (2,400 sq km), the scale of our map, and the inherent imprecision of the archaeological data.

37. I am reluctant to give numbers, given the margins of error mentioned above, the floating position of too many deme centres, and the fact that I was not able to map all *horoi* with a GPS. But I shall succumb to the call of numbers in a few cases, only for the sake of making the following discourse clearer. All distances should thus considered to be temporary, given future possible evolutions of the model.
38. Traill 1986: 117, no. 6; Goette 1994: 120–34; Langdon 1988a: 43–4; 1993: 63; Lauter 1982; Stanton 1984: 301–6; Schiller 1996: 372–6.
39. On this *horos*, see Lalonde 2006. Of course, the centre of this urban deme cannot be given precisely. I attributed a point to what appeared to be a potential centre of gravity.
40. Traill 1986: 117, no. 4; Stanton 1996: 362–3; Schiller 1996: 380–2. Could the easternmost *horos* also have something to do with the boundaries of Bate?
41. Four of the five *horoi* were found by Langdon. See Stanton 1996: 360–1; Schiller 1996: 386–8; Steinhauer 2001: 33–4. The borders were shared with the remains of the unidentified deme centrer situated on hillock 89 near Vourva, described by Vanderpool (1965: 24–6). These five *horoi* have been removed from the hill and one is visible at the airport museum.
42. If the deme's centre is correctly fixed in Panepistemioupoli (see Traill 2000: 911). Three *horoi* (Schiller's nos. 12, 16 and 17) appear close to the potential boundaries with Agryle Hpernethen.
43. Traill 1986: 117, 120, no. 6 and 120; Stanton 1996: 363; Schiller 1996: 366–7. Both *horoi* are loosely positioned in our map.
44. On these series, see Langdon 1978; Lohmann 1993: 54–9, 109–10; Stanton 1996: 359–60; Schiller 1996: 377–80.
45. For a description of remains in the area, see Goette 2000 and Salliora-Oikonomakou 2004.
46. I attributed a point on the hill of Koutsouro, at the western end of the Charaka valley, for Atene, and opted for a Classical deme centre for Sounion in the Upper Souriza valley (in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the deme centre seems to have moved to Pasalimani; see Goette 2000: 114–16). The deme centre of Amphitrope was mapped at Pousipelia/Megala Pefka; see Traill 2000: 906; 1986: 140. For a description of archaeological remains in the area, see Salliora-Oikonomakou 2004: 78–82.
47. The central portion of the boundary is matched by the notional limit, but further north and south the latter adopts an opposite orientation to the boundary given by Lohmann. The latter is obviously correct.
48. Eliot 1962: 57; Traill 1982 and Lauter 1982 suggest the *horoi* marked a separation between the *P*[*aralia*] and the *M*[*esogaia*], resulting from reorganisations (Traill 1986: 118; Jones 1999: 61–2). Stanton 1984 suggests deme markers for P[a]M[botadai] and invites us to squeeze this deme between the two Lamptrai; see Traill's (1986: 118) objections. On these *horoi* see also Schiller 1996: 384–6 and Jones 1999: 61–4.
49. Eliot 1962: 55–6; Traill 1986: 126; 2000: 909; Lauter 1982: 299–315; 1993: 97–101, 149–50; Langdon 1988a: 43–54; Jones 1999: 62 and n. 56. For an exhaustive survey of archaeological remains, see now Andrikou and Douni 2008.

50. For the use of bouleutic quotas as a population proxy, see van der Vliet 1994; Oliver 2001; Cavanagh 2009.
51. The agricultural capacity of Attica is a matter of ongoing debate; for the most recent discussion, see Garnsey 1988; Oliver 2006: 246–8; 2007: 75–6; Moreno 2007: 3–33; Bresson 2008: 199–210; Papazarkadas 2011: 35, 71.
52. A 1:100,000 scale soil map of Attica (Zvorykin and Saul 1948) and the Corine Land Cover 2000 (version 13, 02/2010) land-use data were added in the GIS for predicting the most suitable surfaces for agriculture. In order to recognise the importance of (current) land forms, slopes of 0–7 per cent were selected, which are most predisposed to sustain grain production without terracing. The best agricultural surfaces were obtained by intersecting this slope selection with the previously selected agricultural category.
53. Bresson 2008: 205–6. There would be a substantial gain in our model by extending the selection of slopes to 0–9 per cent.
54. The following estimates are based on a prudent barley net production of 520–640 kg/ha and a consumption of 200kg/person/year. A net production includes the setting aside of one fifth of the yield for the following year (barley production is thus 650–800 kg/ha without this parameter; compare with Oliver's [2006: 247] 770kg/ha).
55. Assuming 48 man days/ha and 175 man days per worker per year (Gallant 1991: 75–81; Oliver 2006: 247).
56. On the local economies of Hellenistic Rhamnous, including grain production, see Oliver 2001. For the protection of its *chora*, see Oliver 2007: 129–30, 138–9; Fachard 2012: 285–7 (with references).
57. 'Old terraces' are mapped in red and reported in the *Karten von Attika*. Some of them might have been ancient.
58. I am currently conducting such an analysis for the border demes of Attica.
59. For a recent study of this site in the context of the Attic–Boeotian borderlands, see Fachard 2013. On a new alliance between Eleutherai and Thebes, see Matthaiou 2014.
60. I am currently using this method, among others, in a larger study of the borders of Attica in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.
61. 'La chronologie des limites, rien de plus important. Il ne faut jamais ratiociner sur des limites considérées comme constantes': Febvre 1970: 336.
62. This French word has no proper translation in English. I use it here to denote the characteristics and agricultural aptitudes of a small region.
63. Febvre 1970: 336: 'ce n'est pas le cadre qui est primordial, c'est ce qui est encadré si l'on peut dire, le centre expressif et vivant du tableau'.
64. I owe this formula to Febvre 1970: 338.

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10

Hesiod and the Disgraceful Shepherds: Pastoral Politics in a Panhellenic *Dichterweihe*?

José M. González

Introduction

Hesiod's *Dichterweihe* famously opens with the following words of censure by the Muses against 'field-dwelling shepherds' (*Theogony* 26–8):[1]

> ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἷον,
> ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
> ἴδμεν δ' εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι.
>
> Field-dwelling shepherds, base reproaches, mere bellies!
> We know how to tell many lies resembling true things;
> and we know, when willing, how to proclaim truths.

Faced with this passage, scholars rarely address the rationale of verse 26, obscured as it is by the celebrated couplet that follows it. To the extent that it has merited attention, the reasons advanced for it are either unsatisfactory or insufficiently developed.[2] But the opening words of the Muses are an essential complement of their celebrated anaphoric pronouncement. Their reproach sets the context for it and must be understood in its light.[3] With the statement about Muse-inspired truths and lies, the Hesiodic *Theogony* (and Hesiodic poetry more generally) articulates its aspiration for, and lays claim to, a wider Panhellenic reception than its epichoric competitors. Therefore, the reproach of field-dwelling shepherds must be read as vindicating the greater Panhellenic status of the song the Muses teach Hesiod[4] (as opposed to the song they have inspired, or might inspire, in his rhapsodic rivals). The growth of Panhellenic poetic traditions was intimately related to the rise of Archaic *poleis* and to the attendant increase in trading and cultural exchange between them. For this reason I suggest that the figure of the shepherd is best understood as a complex ideological index of specialised pastoralism in a polemic by a poetry of Panhellenic aspirations against competing epichoric poetry. The former was a cultural product that characteristically circulated between Archaic Greek *poleis*, where it was chiefly performed at (and shaped

with a view to) the ultimate pleasure of the larger citizen body. The latter offered local variants, which performers primarily shaped to secure the favourable reception of local elites, and which were therefore more readily subject to elite control. Such local poetry was viewed by its Panhellenic Hesiodic rival as having its ideological home in marginal[5] *kōmai* and in the peripheral, uncultivated hinterlands that were the natural site for the (typically elite) economic activity of specialised pastoralism.

This reading draws inspiration from Anthony Snodgrass, who in 1971 suggested that pastoralism was widespread in Greece during the Early Iron Age.[6] This has since come under repeated attack, even from his close collaborator Bintliff (2012: 215),[7] and in 1989 Snodgrass too finally forswore 'to press the case further'.[8] Although his suggestion continues to have distinguished adherents,[9] and in its minimal form can hardly be dismissed out of hand, my argument here takes the significance of animal husbandry in a different direction. I do not assert that verse 26 of the *Theogony* reflects in any straightforward manner the socio-economic realities of specialised pastoralism in the Archaic period or earlier. The views presupposed by the Hesiodic tradition, which *Theogony* 26 hints at, are a complex ideological refraction of such realities. The Hesiodic poems blend congruous elements from different time periods into an artistically and ideologically coherent assertion of their Panhellenic priority, and a corresponding deprecation of their epichoric rivals. My argument therefore does not stand or fall with proof that the Early Iron Age witnessed a reversion to specialised (or even nomadic) pastoralism. At issue is an ideological contrast: specialised pastoralism versus arable farming as the exemplary economic activity of the ideal citizen of the Archaic and Classical *poleis*; and elite conspicuous consumption and social display, of which feasting (particularly meat-eating) was emblematic, vis-à-vis a predominant focus of the political institutional arrangement (including the performance of traditional poetry) upon the larger community. In other words, *Theogony* 26 preserves for us a view of 'pastoral politics' (cf. Howe 2008) with a decidedly communal slant already effective at the dawn of the Archaic *polis*, when the nature of its life and governance – the appointment, tenure and powers of its magistrates; the ethical outlines of its laws; the standards of reciprocity between its citizens – was contested and the focus of intense social negotiation.

My chapter proceeds as follows. First, I consider the performance setting of traditional oral poetry and how audience reception shapes the development of the text. This establishes the presumption that *Theogony* 26 helped to frame the import of the programmatic couplet that follows it. I emphasise that the geographic landmarks in the poem function within the context of their Panhellenic reception and do not embody a peculiarly Boeotian perspective. Since Panhellenic poetry developed in symbiosis with the growth of the *polis*, next I dispute the view that, by themes and outlook, the *Works and Days* is ideologically rooted in the pre-*polis* village. This poem stands within the orbit of the Archaic and Classical *poleis* and played an essential role in their social and cultural developments. The text makes clear that it was composed for the *polis* and performed in it.

What others have attributed to pre- or extra-*polis* social arrangements are in fact common, even distinctive, features of the Classical *polis*. This grows clear if one considers: (1) the ideal of self-sufficiency in the developed *polis*; (2) the integration of the *oikos* into the *polis*; and (3) the pre-eminently agricultural character of the Classical and pre-Classical *poleis* (both as economic fact and as ideological projection). With this in mind, the *oikos* in the *Works and Days* comes clearly into view as congruent with, and hence socially applicable to, the developing *polis* in the poem's broader engagement with the value of work, the rhythms of arable farming under the rule of Zeus, and the observance of *dikē* within and without the *oikos* (including the public performance of adjudication).

My analysis assumes that one may rightfully speak of a 'Hesiodic poetic tradition' whose primary witnesses are the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*, inasmuch as rhapsodes in their performances shaped these two poems in a relation of complementarity.[10] The cross-references, implicit and explicit, that articulate their thematic reciprocity were forged by a dialectic that drove the gradual crystallisation of their poetic architecture.[11] In practice, this fundamental fact often requires that the modern reader interpret passages and motifs in one poem in the light of the other (especially programmatic ones). A pre-eminent example is the *Dichterweihe* (the context of *Theogony* 26–8), which establishes Hesiod's rhapsodic *persona*. The motivation behind Hesiod's portrayal as a shepherd before he is inaugurated as an epic singer can only be grasped in the light of, and in dialogue with, the values espoused in the *Works and Days*.[12] Hence the importance of the social and cultural profile this poem lends to its singer by contrast with his ('theogonic') pastoral extraction. Central to this profile is the marginal role it gives to animal husbandry, best understood as a complex ideological refraction of past and present historical realities. From this analysis the field-dwelling shepherd emerges as a creature of specialised pastoralism, a representative of elite social and economic interests. It is at that point that I look at the manner in which the Muses address Hesiod and his fellow shepherds. I suggest that the (pre-induction) pastoral *persona* indexes local poetry that serves the concerns of the elite, poetry that is characteristically at home in pre-*polis* and extra-*polis* social arrangements (and remained comfortably sited within elite networks that transcended the *polis*); whereas the (post-induction) *persona* adopted by the rhapsode – a dialectical complement of magistrates (*basilēes*) who perform justice – champions the rights of the larger community of citizens (to free speech, property, political participation, etc.) and the interests of the *polis* as a political project. Thus viewed, the abuse of shepherds becomes a quintessential expression of the Panhellenic commitment of Hesiodic poetry to this project.

The Panhellenic shape of Hesiodic poetry

Throughout Greek antiquity, the feast was the characteristic setting for the performance of traditional poetry. In the Archaic period it either took the

form of a private or semi-public elite banquet or else was held as a public festival, sometimes at a Panhellenic sanctuary but more often at *poleis* in accordance with their communally sanctioned calendars. During these early stages, poetry of growing Panhellenic appeal will have belonged with the latter (public) setting in proportion to the depth of its Panhellenic shaping. For it was in connection with its circulating among *poleis* and Panhellenic sanctuaries as a cultural product in the making that it was stamped by performing rhapsodes with those features of form and content that encouraged its broad audience reception.

Paradoxically perhaps, the distance that separates us from Greek Archaic audiences and our relative ignorance of their cultural outlook have rendered an interpretative puzzle precisely that verse, *Theogony* 26, that was doubtless intended to make clear to these audiences the rhetorical point of the ensuing couplet on truthful and lying inspiration.[13] Therefore, he who would make sense of it must exhibit its coherence with whatever interpretation of *Theogony* 27–8 he adopts; and, more broadly, its coherence with the tradition of Hesiodic poetry embodied by the two major poems. My claim is that to recognise this coherence one must grasp how these poems together conceptualise pastoralism politically against the ideologically dominant background of arable farming.

The Hesiodic poems have usually been read in close conjunction with their ostensible Boeotian extraction. Because their geographic markers are clearly Boeotian, scholars often relate the social circumstances reflected by the poems to Boeotian Archaic society at the time of Hesiod's alleged *floruit*. This is an error.[14] Hesiodic poetry is Panhellenic not only in aspiration but in actual fact. Its dialect is Ionic and it broadly shares its formulaic system with Homeric epic.[15] This amounts to an emphatic (if implicit) claim to, and a manifest expression of its, Panhellenism. The textual evidence disappoints any expectation of Boeotian dialectal features (West 1966: 90). Even the Boeotian siting, while superficially undeniable, is bleached of geographic specificity and becomes subservient to the larger Panhellenic scope of the poems.[16] We must similarly refrain from determining their social and cultural significance with reference to peculiarly Boeotian actualities and circumstances. The poems speak to concerns and realities broadly shared by all Greeks during the Archaic period, concerns that hardly lost their relevance during the Classical era. Only this fact explains why contemporary audiences appreciated and preserved them for future generations. There is proof ready at hand for this view: it is precisely at the one extant mention of Askra in the corpus (*WD* 639–40) that we meet with an otherwise inexplicably false assertion:

> He [*sc.* our father] settled near Helikon in a wretched village,
> Askra, evil in winter, harsh in summer, never good.

With this dismal judgement, West contrasts two modern opinions: 'Ascra, however, is surrounded with beautiful scenery, with delightful summer-retreats, and with fertile plains, enjoying a mild climate during the winter';[17] 'Askra is actually a delightful site with as pleasant and refreshing a situation

as a Greek city could have.'[18] The discordance between reality and poetic description draws attention to the constructed nature of the geographical setting, which serves higher Panhellenic expressive purposes, whether these can be readily ascertained or not.[19]

This observation is complemented by another, similar in kind and no less momentous. Scholars have long assumed, if not explicitly held, that the many assertions and remarks in the *Works and Days* concerned Askra, and that this poem was framed to be performed there. But the text disallows this view, reinforcing its Panhellenic projection. Two facts make this clear. The first is that the language of *WD* 639–40 presupposes at least potential ignorance of the identity and location of Askra – something, however, that makes perfect sense if the audience is Panhellenic. But does not verse 635 concern Askra when it notes that Hesiod's father 'once came *here* too, after he crossed over a wide sea' (my emphasis)? Perhaps it would – if in fact 'here' (= 'hither') were the correct reading and translation. It is not. The word is τῇδε, which does not mean 'hither' but 'this way',[20] that is, 'in the direction of this place [but not stopping here]'.[21]

Askra, then, is neither presented nor assumed by the poem as the site of its performance. And what more plausible location for performance could Hesiod's father have travelled through on the journey to his final settlement in Askra than Thespiai, the major local *polis* within whose sphere of influence Askra lay? Nevertheless, the location's identity goes unnamed and remains conveniently available for circumstantial definition as might suit the performance of the Panhellenic rhapsode. The insight that the poem actually envisages the Archaic *polis* – *any* Archaic *polis* – as its performance setting precludes approaching the *Works and Days* as a record of village life at the dawn of the Archaic age.[22]

Let me say this emphatically: the *Works and Days* is Panhellenic traditional poetry that addresses its critique and paraenesis not to the Archaic village, but to life (especially household life and the relations among neighbours) in the rising Archaic *polis*. First it focuses squarely and explicitly on the moral outlines of proper public adjudication – formalised in time by the institutions of justice – and its intersection with property rights and the rights of inheritance; only then does the performer shift his gaze to the proper running of the household (in the context of arable farming in the *polis*) and to the ethics that should inform relations between neighbours. The importance of the *khōra* to the *polis* and its integration with the urban nucleus hardly needs mention.[23] The image of Perses whiling away his time unprofitably in the *agora*, unhealthily preoccupied with the adjudication of quarrels, should have sufficed to give the lie to those who imposed an Askran perspective on the poem's varied material.

Hesiodic poetry concerns the *polis*

This is not the place to argue at length the view that the *Works and Days* concerns the *polis* (and so does the *Theogony*, as I note below). But I can vindicate the notion with three observations. The first is that, in so

far as it is poetry shaped primarily in the Archaic period, it reflects a rather primitive institutional development. One would be wrong to insist on the presence of formal councils, citizen assemblies that convene regularly, formally appointed magistrates, and the rest of the apparatus characteristic of a developed *polis*. Yet it exhibits enough, I submit, to justify the claim that it holds the *polis* in view, not the Archaic (much less the Iron Age) village. In fact, it is precisely its failure to mention institutional particularities that lends the *Works and Days* its enduring appeal and relevance to *poleis* of later periods. For it is in broad outlines that it explores the exercise of power, the principles of justice, the organisation of households, and the ethical structure of communal life under the reign of Zeus.

The second observation is that self-sufficiency (*autarkheia*) was an economic ideal that governed ancient Greek micro- and macro-economic thinking, from the running of the household to the total economic activity of the *polis*. Aristotle provides the most famous expression of this ideal in *Politics* 1252b27–30, which defines *polis* as 'the union of several *kōmai*, when complete, ... attaining (so to say) complete self-sufficiency, and thus arising for the sake of living but existing for the sake of living well'. This ideal regarded not only economic but also political independence, 'encapsulating the basic attributes of the truly "free" man who did not depend on anyone else for his livelihood and was not subject to the authority of any other private individual' (Sallares 1991: 298). The Aristotelian *Economics* (1344b31–3) recognised that the fourth-century Athenian market economy was useful in the preservation of wealth because it obviated the need for a storehouse in the smaller household economies. But Philodemos declared this 'inconvenient, probably even unprofitable' (δυσχερ[ής, τ]άχα δὲ καὶ ἀλυσιτελής),[24] presumably because the lack of a storeroom necessitated selling right after the harvest, when prices were at their lowest (so Sallares). In fact, Westgate (2007: 234) proposes the *polis* ideal of *autarkheia* as the background against which to evaluate the appearance of courtyard houses near the time when (according to Morris) the *polis* ideology of power shared equally by all the male citizens was framed. The displeasure of Perikles' household (Plut. *Per.* 16.4) at his decision to rely on the market for his daily needs illustrates well the ancient attitudes towards commercial exchange as potentially compromising *autarkheia*. Since self-sufficiency is an ideal, as much of the household as of the *polis*, that deprecated dependence on (and pursuit of) market exchange, it is hardly compelling to argue that because the *Works and Days* focuses on subsistence farming it does not concern the *polis*.[25]

A third observation concerns the predominant rural shape of the Archaic *polis* and its roots in village life.[26] Landowning and arable farming were operative economic ideals that remained prevalent well into the Classical period. By and large, the facts on the ground reflect their influence. Even in fifth-century Athens – where deviations from the norm, if anywhere, might be expected – 'a high proportion of Athenians were landholders' (Morris 1991: 35).[27] Foxhall (1992) and Osborne (1992) have independently estimated that 7.5–9 per cent of fourth-century Athenian citizens owned about

a third of the land, about 20 per cent owned little or no land, and 70 per cent held the remaining two thirds of the land. Comparing these numbers to those from other ancient Mediterranean contexts, Morris (1998: 235) deems 'this . . . an *extremely* egalitarian pattern of landowning' (his emphasis).[28] Although the farming of larger estates in the late Classical period may well have had in view the production of surpluses for the market (Osborne 1992: 22), during the Classical, and *a fortiori* during the Archaic, period most farmers will have tilled the land with a view to the self-sufficiency of the *oikos*.[29] Gallant observes (1991: 98) that small landowning farmers[30] in ancient Greece 'did not regularly mobilize their surplus production through . . . the market', resorting instead to local storage, investment in secondary commodities (e.g. livestock), or reciprocal exchange mechanisms (like feasting with neighbours). Finley (1983: 41) was addressing the prevalent rural character of the *polis* when he observed that '[t]he city-state world . . . had a large, usually major component of [citizen] peasants who owned plots on which they struggled to survive'. In this regard, Athens was a typical *polis*. Even if many *oikoi* at one time or another struggled to reach economic viability, on the whole the *polis* ordinarily attained the ideal of self-sufficiency.[31]

The pervasively rural character of the Archaic *polis* is precisely the topic examined by Morris (1994a) in connection with the portrayal of communal life in the Greek epic of the Archaic period. Morris observes that the Hesiodic Iron Age (*WD* 182–9) is structured in the manner of concentric social circles: it starts with the individual and his *oikos* (fathers and children) and successively moves on to guest and host, *hetairoi*, *kasignētoi*; it then returns emphatically to the *oikos*[32] and climaxes with the statement that 'one man will destroy the *polis* of another'. One may readily compare this with Aristotle's analytical history of the *polis*, which builds the *kōmē* on the *oikiai* (here synonymous with *oikoi*) and the *polis* on *kōmai* (*Pol.* 1252a15–30). But, congruently with its position as the ultimate foundation of the *polis*, the *oikos* 'was largely left to run itself' (Roy 1999: 12) and the *polis* rarely intervened in it, whether socially[33] or through taxation (taxes were indirect).[34] Drawing on Osborne (1990), Morris concludes that by adopting a single model of group organisation and action, the *demos* of Athens as a whole and the members of the Attic demes made sure 'that the *polis* worked like a village, and that the villages worked like *poleis*' (1994a: 51). Morris (1994a: 51) is also right to emphasise that the dominant ancient Greek view of the state was a segmentary one, an amalgamation of *oikoi* (and villages); and that *poleis* resembled the 'closed corporate community' of the anthropologist, where:

> landholding is monopolized by insiders, and the community as a whole has a vague claim to land transcending that of the individual household. Land cannot be sold to outsiders. There is a tendency to endogamy, and the institutions of the community favor leanings toward a rough equality between members.

The key insight here is that a segmentary view of the farming household within the larger community prevailed, and a characteristic urban mentality

never significantly developed. Therefore, 'life in an "average" Greek city did have a great deal in common with that in a large village' (Morris 1991: 38). Athens illustrates this well. According to Osborne, the *asty* of Athens did not exploit the countryside politically, economically or socially. In fact, the distinction between *asty* and countryside was effaced, with an 'insistence on the small geographical divisions' that 'turn[ed] the social interest in on the small group' and 'submerged' politics 'in the local community' (1985a: 187–8). This 'turning of the social interest in on the small group' characteristic of the *polis* is precisely the accent placed by the *Works and Days* on its subject matter – a turning in on the *oikos* and its immediate neighbours. This accent therefore cannot be used to argue the irrelevance (or incidental relevance) of the poem's ethical doctrine and social project to the world of the *polis*.[35]

The refutation of views that the bulk of the material in the *Works and Days* does not concern the *polis* is a sort of negative argument: it asserts that when the poem considers subsistence arable farming, focuses squarely on the *oikos*, relates to socially embedded relations of exchange, and expounds on how justice informs the ethics of work and one's relations to kin and neighbours – all these matters find a comfortable and compelling setting in the *polis*, which during the Archaic and Classical periods was *ideally* conceptualised as (and actually characterised by) citizens engaged in self-sufficient, subsistence arable farming; its basic, operative social unit was the *oikos*, which largely ran autonomously and without state interference; and its prevailing (and ideal) mode of exchange was a socially embedded economy. Since Panhellenic poetry by its very nature could not possibly engage in detail with the law and legal procedure as it obtained in any one *polis*, including the particular qualifications for citizenship, it was only natural that it would concern instead the larger socio-religious framework that informs proper relations within the household and among neighbours (ordinarily, citizens too). In Hesiod's poems *polis* institutions are limited to the *agora* and the law court, and the cultural critique of both operates at a high, shared level of Panhellenicity: the rule of Zeus and the cosmic design of his justice.

There remains only to demonstrate that the poems explicitly include a convincing Panhellenic portrayal of the *polis*. Here, I can be brief since this has been well exhibited by others. I might cite Raaflaub (1993), who conclusively shows that both the Homeric (pp. 46–59) and the Hesiodic poems (pp. 59–64) presuppose and reveal their acquaintance with the basic outlines of a *polis* not merely as a settlement nucleus but as a political project:[36] 'a community of . . . citizens . . ., of place or territory, of cults, customs and laws, and a community that was able to administer itself' (1993: 44). Regarding the concentration of this traditional poetry on the *oikos*, Raaflaub underlines that its thematic selectivity and focus answer to the overall poetic design.

In the *Works and Days* the *polis* is mentioned six times. *WD* 189 (χειροδίκαι· ἕτερος δ' ἑτέρου πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξει)[37] is noteworthy because war

(mentioned again at 229 and 246) is a quintessentially communal endeavour that transcends the *oikos*. The significance of a second occurrence in *WD* 527 has been played down because here '*polis*' belongs to the traditional phrase δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε.[38] But as Raaflaub notes, this formula 'express[es] the communal unity of people and territory' (1993: 49), and the evidence of Homeric poetry justifies '[t]he natural assumption . . . that people live in *poleis*' (p. 50).[39] The other four instances of '*polis*' in the *Works and Days* lead to the conclusion that, just like Homer, Hesiod too assumes that people live in *poleis*. These references appear in connection with a central thematic preoccupation: men's observance or violation of *dikē* in their social arrangements. In the first occurrence, gift-devouring judges forcibly drag maiden *Dikē* with their crooked judgements (hinting at rape); she follows, crying, to the *polis* and haunts of men (*WD* 222), bringing retribution to those who drive her out and do not deal straight. But they who deal straight judgements to foreigners and members of the community (ἐνδήμοισι 225), who do not turn aside from justice – these have a flourishing *polis* and the people (λαοί) bloom (227). The idyllic vignette of a peaceful and prosperous living is then contrasted with the misfortunes of those who mind hubris and cruel deeds: 'often even the entire *polis* suffers for an evil man who sins and schemes reckless deeds' (240–1). The focus here is upon the communal dimension (καὶ ξύμπασα πόλις 240) that suffers for a single evil man, just as at 260–1 *Dikē* denounces men's unjust mind, so that Zeus may requite the *dēmos* for the recklessness of its *basilēes*: his eye sees and marks everything, and it does not escape him just what sort of justice this is (τήνδε) that the *polis* holds within (269) – the deictic τήνδε serving as a pointed reminder that the performance is sited in the *polis*.[40]

But if the *polis* is the context of his paraenesis, what about Hesiod's insistence that the farmer must concentrate his efforts on his *oikos*? And what of the impression that the only relationships essential to him are those among neighbours? The Panhellenic design of the poetry, subservient to a focus upon the rising *polis*, is not troubled by, but precisely commends, the centring of attention on the *oikos* and its neighbours. It would have been inappropriate to this Panhellenic paraenesis to devolve into a specific call to arms: any particular 'solution' that veered away from the emphasis on personal responsibility and accountability would have severely limited its appeal. Consideration of the *agora* as the place of adjudication rather than as the centre of the political sphere (with 'political' understood narrowly as the political action of governance) allows Hesiodic poetry to avoid referring to any particular form of government and to retain its applicability to more or less oligarchic or democratic arrangements. Not only is the literary motif of the neighbour (γείτων) a natural and conventional way of conceptualising the relationships of social proximity that fellow citizens enjoy,[41] but dependence upon one's neighbours continued well into the Classical era as the chief strategy adopted to cope with economic risk.[42]

Animal husbandry and Hesiodic poetry

I argued above the need to understand the *Dichterweihe* in the *Theogony* against the joint testimony of the two main surviving Hesiodic poems. With this in mind, once we realise that the vantage point of the *Works and Days* is emphatically that of the Archaic *polis*, the way is open to interpret the promotion of Hesiod from shepherd to singer against the role that animal husbandry had in the *polis*. The motivation for Hesiod's portrayal as a 'field-dwelling shepherd' at the time of his induction, and for the Muses' rebuke of him and his peers as 'mere bellies' and 'objects of shame', is to be sought in the prevalent *literary construction* of the social status of specialised pastoralism at the rise of the *polis*, a construction that the *Works and Days* hints at. To advance the results of such a survey: animal husbandry plays a rather limited role in this poem, which views arable farming as independent in principle of the use of animals. Although Hesiod's interest in oxen is coextensive with their role in agricultural labour, ownership of a yoke for ploughing is a convenience not taken for granted[43] and the poem envisions the need to borrow one (*WD* 453–4).[44] There is nothing in the *Works and Days* of the familiar and frequent Homeric feasting on meat.[45] Owning cattle for the sake of ploughing and threshing does not come for free: it takes a significant amount of fodder,[46] which was never specially cultivated in Archaic or Classical Greece.[47]

Except when kept in large flocks for conspicuous display in feasting, or as a special economic investment that depended on the availability of large grazing areas, animals had to be integrated closely with cultivation and had to feed on fallow lands, on the stubble the harvest left behind, and on the wild growth in between episodes of ploughing. Under these conditions, only owners of large estates could afford to keep flocks of substantial numbers, and even they probably depended on the use of public lands or hinterlands at, or beyond, the margins of the *polis*.[48] Such owners would not have shepherded the flocks themselves. They depended on labourers of low social status: slaves and indentured or hired workers.

In the *Works and Days*, owning large flocks remains a contingency in the realm of the ideal, redolent of the golden race (*WD* 120),[49] a possibility that depends on the observance of justice, on the sedulous pursuit of wealth through hard work, and on the blessing of Zeus (308–10); when the *polis* observes justice, its woolly sheep are weighed down with fleeces (234). Athanassakis suggests that the advice at 604 not to be sparing with the dog's food 'does not speak for Hesiod the expert on farming, and far less for his herding of sheep even on a modest scale', for '[w]atchdogs and sheep dogs must be kept hungry and lean to be alert and aggressive' (1992: 169). He further observes that there is no reference to cheese in the poem (but the shearing of sheep is mentioned at 775). The apparent lack of interest in animal farming on a medium to large scale in a poem that focuses on arable farming should not surprise us, for ordinarily both activities remained largely separate in Greek practice.[50] Animals were involved in transhumance[51] or else would feed in marginal hinterlands or fallow lands

in the context of extensive cultivation.[52] Intensive gardening with crop rotation (of pulses and cereals) and regular manuring[53] required a tightly integrated mode of husbandry – often called 'mixed or agro-pastoral farming' – which never amounted, even in the Classical period, to more than a marginal model of agricultural production.

Farm animals, then, are not absent from the *Works and Days*,[54] but their cursory treatment and casual mention amply justify Athanassakis' assessment: 'What I find remarkable is that in the *Works and Days* our shepherd poet [Hesiod] has precious little to say about flocks of sheep and goats, let alone herds of cattle' (1992: 170). The reason, I submit, is the ideological divorce of specialised animal husbandry from arable farming characteristic of the *polis* in the Archaic and Classical periods.[55] This divorce is evident in the *Works and Days* and becomes an eloquent interpretative fact of poetic ideology when it is juxtaposed with Hesiod's programmatic induction from field-dwelling shepherd to Panhellenic singer. The owner of a small parcel of land might have a small flock of sheep and goats; he would use their manure to enhance his farming with spade and hoe. Fewer, in possession of bigger lots, might own somewhat larger flocks and afford the help of serfs and hired labourers (*dmōes* and *thētes*) in return for suitable compensation.[56] But there must have been very few who controlled larger acreages and who could have owned sheep and goats by the hundreds. These will have belonged to the social elite who controlled communal marginal lands or who were wealthy enough not to fear food shortages and to be willing to use their own produce to support animals beyond the minimum required for ploughing. As Sallares notes, 'animal husbandry is an extremely costly way of producing food, although its products are very prestigious for the same reason' and an 'effective way of manifesting superiority and expressing social distance' (1991: 311).

Specialised pastoralism in antiquity was primarily associated with the estates of the wealthy or their control and use of communal lands for grazing. It was important not for subsistence but because it generated symbolic capital that could be spent to their social advantage in relations of patronage and aristocratic exchange.[57] Even in the Classical period, as Forbes notes, 'there is no evidence to suggest that [pastoralism] was the preserve of the peasant-level enterprise, interstitially located within a regime of small-scale peasant agriculturalists, as is primarily the case today' (1994: 193). Within the dominant ancient ideal of an agricultural economy, one may discern 'a hierarchy of agricultural pursuits' (Howe 2008: 31) that betrays a higher elite appreciation of animal husbandry than of arable and arboreal farming. When enumerating 'the useful parts of wealth-making', Aristotle (*Pol.* I.11, 1258b12ff.) first listed ownership of animals, then expertise in arable farming, and finally the deprecated 'exchange'.[58] This order probably embodies a hierarchy of potentially competing values.[59] Indeed, agriculture and animal husbandry often competed for the same resources. The control of pastureland by the Megarian wealthy and the corresponding strain this put on their relations with middling farmers probably lie behind Theagenes' slaughtering of the flocks

of these affluent elite (Arist. *Pol.* V.5, 1305a24–6).[60] Ownership of larger numbers of domestic animals was a widely admired form of wealth. In the fourth century BC, among the Macedonian bribes denounced by Demosthenes in connection with the fall of Olynthos were 'abundant cattle' for Euthykrates, and sheep and horses for others; and yet the commoners, instead of growing angry and demanding punishment, 'looked up to them, envied and honoured them, regarding them [as real] men' (Dem. 19.265).

Drawing on the Homeric poems, Donlan (1997) posits a Dark Age economy built on arable farming, which in the case of the local chiefs (the *basileis*) included large estates with orchards and the large-scale raising of livestock (stressed by the use of cattle as a valuation standard).[61] A low demand for arable by the sparse population made large tracts of land available for grazing. That cattle should have been specially prized for prestige feasting must not obscure the fact that, ordinarily, ovicaprids would have been much the more abundant form of livestock.[62] The important point here, which is valid for Archaic and Classical audiences, is that the emphasis on herds and flocks strongly suggests that these were viewed as pre-eminent social symbols of wealth.

Building on the assumption that local elites away from major palaces largely survived the fall of the Bronze Age palatial administrations, scholars have inferred from the substantial increase in cattle bones in Early Iron Age Nichoria that its elite kept cattle for beef and may have appropriated bottom land (formerly controlled by the palace for specialist crops) to devote it to stock rearing. Although the evidence is still thin and deeply controverted, a survey of current scholarship shows that any reasonable reconstruction of the Iron Age economy and social arrangements assumes some form of continuation of specialised herding under the control and for the benefit of the elite.[63] The social valence of animal husbandry as a special economic practice retained strong elite associations even throughout the upheavals that marked the fall of the Bronze Age civilisations.

Howe (2008: 126) finds it 'especially significant . . . that despite all of the social, political and even environmental changes in Greek society from 800 to 300 BCE, horses, cattle, sheep, goats and swine did not lose their power to impress'. Beyond the limited subsistence level, animal husbandry was an elite concern, a primary generator of wealth and prestige throughout Greek antiquity. Such elite animal production was instrumental to elite display and consumption at festivals, feasts, games and races.[64] The elite valence of specialised pastoralism forms the essential background to a correct appreciation of *Theogony* 26.

Theogony 26

Hesiod meets the Muses at the foot of Mt Helikon while shepherding sheep. We are not told that the sheep are his, although this has been too readily assumed by most. The location is largely determined by the Boeotian cult of the Muses (Muses of Helikon), and Hesiod's occupation makes it plausible that they should meet him there. But why should the Muses have

chosen to initiate a *shepherd* into the paths of song and to commission him with the performance of their hymn – a hymn to them and their father Zeus?[65] Many suggestions have been made, few culturally or textually relevant. Most of them, perhaps *faute de mieux*, assume that with shepherds the poem contrasts the human condition – mortality, ignorance, need for livelihood (especially for food) and so on – with the divine – immortality, omniscience, without physical needs, etc.[66] Stoddard (2005) provides a recent, extensive treatment along these lines.[67] She assumes that Hesiod structures the *Dichterweihe* 'to introduce the concept of the gulf separating gods from humans, and to link this concept with that of his own legitimacy as a poet' (p. 1). Underlying this reading is Stoddard's conviction, shared with a rising flood of interpreters, that under the traditional singer 'Hesiod' hides an *avant-garde* epistemologist who admits to two kinds of truth: ἔτυμα, 'physical realities' 'subject to constant change and eventual death', which 'are from the gods' perspective "lies"' (p. 13); and ἀληθέα, 'eternal truths' 'which never change or perish' (p. 13). This impossibly anachronistic notion is compounded with the view that in the *Works and Days* we meet not with the divinely inspired bard who sings of the 'sort of knowledge that only gods can have' (p. 13) but one who 'concern[s] [him]self with the sorts of truths that mortals know' (p. 14). This dichotomy is false to Hesiod's world and text: *WD* 661–2, which assumes Hesiod's *Dichterweihe* (*WD* 658–9), makes an ostentatious claim to inspiration with precisely the 'sort of knowledge that only gods can have'; and connects 'the mind of Zeus' with the typically human practice of sailing. Sailing too belongs to Zeus' 'cosmos' and necessitates divinely inspired explication.[68]

The very notion that shepherds somehow make natural representatives of the human condition is odd and unproven by the alleged parallels (not to say contradicted by the strong and pervasive cultural prejudice against specialised pastoralism). This view sits uneasily with the Muses' harsh tone of abuse: if they simply wanted to mark the distance between gods and men, why should they denigrate humanity? And why would they go on to acknowledge, in a characteristically human departure from comprehensive truthfulness, that they sometimes tell lies? This admission would seem to bring gods and men closer and make the Muses the potential target of the very reproaches they level against the shepherds. It is doubtful, moreover, that the Archaic and Classical audiences would have thought themselves represented by the berated shepherds. How are we to reconcile the notion that in the person of 'Hesiod' human beings *in toto* are harshly derided not for anything they have *done*, but simply for what they *are* (Stoddard 2005: 5), with the goddesses' proceeding to elevate 'Hesiod' to a position of favour? The inauguration as an intermediary between man and god of one who remains essentially what he was before does not help the alleged emphasis on the gulf between them. This gulf would have been far more effectively conveyed if a rebuke sans initiation had preceded the balance of a *Theogony* framed as a report of the Muses' own song.

There is, moreover, a degree of specificity to the Muses' abuse that remains excessive and unaccounted for. Stoddard is correct (2005: 4–5)

to criticise the view that unmotivated divine abuse of mortals is a *topos* that sufficiently motivates *Theogony* 26:[69] adduced parallels involve specific moral failings, or draw explicit attention to humanity's inherent ignorance, or combine both moral failings and ignorance.[70] But Stoddard is equally unconvincing when she seeks to motivate the divine disdain she senses: if the goddesses merely sought to contrast themselves with Hesiod, why not simply show pity? Why need shepherds be *reproached* for their humanity? It might be otherwise if one were to assume a divine prejudice against shepherds (as opposed to some other menial occupation); but, if so, why should we embrace it as plausible that an occupation *ex hypothesi* denigrated provides a particularly suitable representation of the human condition?[71] No wonder Stoddard declares the disparagement κάκ' ἐλέγχεα 'more vague': 'it is not clear what aspect of the addressee is being criticized by its application' (2005: 6). Its epic associations suggest that specific moral failings are in view, and not just 'another way to insult the humble occupation of shepherds' (p. 6).[72] We are left with the incredible notion that shepherds are equated with their flocks as those who live out in the fields and 'do nothing but eat'! How anyone, ancient or modern, could adopt such a far-fetched and simplistic representation of 'shepherds' as a class goes unexplained.[73]

Stoddard tries to shore up her reading with the additional claim that shepherds occur elsewhere in the cultures of Greece and the Near East as symbolic of humankind's intermediate position between gods and beasts. Apparently, she thinks this assertion equivalent to the lesser claim that shepherds represent 'a liminal state between wild nature and civilization' (2005: 7). It is not. The distance between god and man cannot be readily mapped onto the opposition between the wild and the civilised. The latter is a true, if partial, aspect of Hesiod's text. One could restate the contrast between the local, pre-*polis* stage (and its poetry) and the Panhellenic *polis* culture (the ideal of Greek civilisation) as one between the less civilised (approaching the 'natural society' of flocks and shepherds) and the more civilised (the political life of *basilēes*, singers, and their audiences). Pastoralism *may* (but hardly need) function ideologically as the boundary between the wild and the civilised.[74] Furthermore, Homeric similes do not support the notion that shepherds are topically liminal. And Stoddard's suggestion that the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* portrays Anchises as a herdsman because this makes him a 'perfect representative of humankind in the abstract' (2005: 8), and hence convenient to a narrative that allegedly establishes a new cosmic order between gods and humans, overlooks the fact that Anchises' herding is already a traditional motif in the *Iliad* (V.313), where there is not a hint of such ambitious cosmic rearrangement; and that cattle are so highly valued by Homeric epic that it is not rare to find young men of high station as herdsmen (*Il.* XIV.445; XV.547–8).[75] The metaphor of the *basileus* as ποιμὴν λαῶν,[76] which Stoddard thinks most significant, is arguably civilising (as the formulaic alternative κοσμήτωρ shows[77]); and she had earlier deemed base and reproachful the pastoral profile she now thinks

expressive of honourable mediation. The notion that Hesiod's portrayal as a field-dwelling shepherd corresponds in actual fact or proleptically to a ruler seems far-fetched. Stoddard's argument is unconvincing and fails to make a compelling connection between the abuse of *Theogony* 26 and the startling admission by the Muses that their inspiration may be lying or truthful.

Haubold (2010) presents a more persuasive reading, but one that is unduly influenced by a Protagorean narrative of cultural development. Although we share the conviction that the Hesiodic corpus should be read as a whole, I do not agree that it articulates this wholeness as a 'history of the world in three stages', starting with the gods (in the *Theogony*), moving to the demigods (in the *Catalogue*) and ending with the world of men (in the *Works and Days*). The thematic concerns of the corpus are instead primarily synchronic and its interests lie squarely with the life of the *polis* under the rule of Zeus: the *polis*, socially and institutionally, is to be a microcosm of the universal order of Zeus, structured around the notion of justice as its central axis.[78] Haubold conflates the thematic complementarity of the poems with their modes of presentation. Thus, while the *Works and Days* certainly focuses on the human sphere and the *Theogony* on the divine, there is little in the former poem that may be interpreted as a true history of man's world,[79] and nothing other than scattered aetiologies that could be called a genetic account of Hesiod's political society. Even these aetiologies, programmatic as they are in elucidating the conditions of *present* living, cannot be called the sustained focus of the poem.

Moreover, the biographic overlay Haubold imposes upon the corpus to create a sequence of increasing cultural maturity is both doubtful and of doubtful applicability. It is questionable, for example, why herding sheep should signify immaturity and tilling the ground adulthood. It is true that in epic young men often help their families with the herding. But one can hardly infer from this that herding connotes immaturity. Nothing in the Homeric examples cited by Haubold suggests such an association.[80] Moreover, Haubold's views of the ways in which the performer's alleged immaturity colours the *Theogony* are unacceptable. This poem is supposed to contain youthful errors that the more mature poet of the *Works and Days* later corrects (Most 1993: 77);[81] and Hesiod's allegedly greater dependence upon the Muses in the 'earlier' poem (a false claim) is considered – impossibly – a sign of adolescent fallibility.[82] So does the *Dichterweihe* turn from a demonstration of divine favour into a badge of personal inadequacy!

Haubold also overlooks the fact that after his poetic inauguration, Hesiod no longer is or performs as a shepherd. It is not a shepherd-poet who performs the *Theogony*; nor a farmer-poet who performs the *Works and Days*[83] so much as a singer who gives voice to a worldview dominated by farming. For Haubold the insult 'mere bellies' includes Hesiod in the group of 'good-for-nothings who cannot so control themselves' (2010: 18) – the 'so' seemingly pointing back to 'eating in a controlled manner' (p. 17) – a group that Haubold defines with reference to a series

of passages not one of which makes reference to self-control.[84] Why shepherds, besides allegedly being ignorant, should now *as a class* be branded as lacking self-control remains unexplained, but we are told that 'young Hesiod' is thereby renouncing 'any claims to cultural and intellectual competence' (p. 18). We are left to wonder why shepherds should have been thought to make any such claim or need to renounce it.

Since the text of the *Theogony* itself furnishes no obvious rationale, and the alternatives are not compelling,[85] we are left to motivate its curious choice of initiand with reference to its primary cultural function, to what is after all the central historical motivation for the poetic tradition itself: to inform and declare the new cultural and social order of the *polis*, one that not only looks forward to a new institutional arrangement and legal framework of citizen rights and responsibilities, but also presents the need for a new order of poetry and depicts the reality of this poetry at work in performance. Hesiodic poetry presents this new society under the overarching *kosmos* of Zeus, the implications of whose order descend into every particular of the individual's life, sanctioning corresponding rhythms of work and leisure, proper relations of reciprocity with one's neighbours, defining the rights to private property (especially of land, the pre-eminent economic and social resource as a matter of both fact and ideology), and drawing proper boundaries for the exercise of authority by those who act in recognised public capacities (and correspond to the magistrates of the developed *polis*). All of this will be appreciated immediately as the entailments of *Dikē*, the thematic core of the *Works and Days*, the authoritative proclamation of which sets its cultural agenda and determines its cultural function.

The *Theogony* makes an essential contribution to this project by presenting an ideal vision of the *basileus* (*qua* judicial magistrate) who acts righteously under Zeus, performing his allotted function with divine effectiveness and without perverting his authority for the sake of personal gain (80–92); and it presents this idyllic picture against a portrayal of Zeus' own ascent to, and secure establishment of, everlasting dominion[86] through a telling combination of cunning (Metis 886–900), championship of the wronged (Rhea and her children 467, 472–3, 496)[87] – Kottos calls him 'a protector (ἀλκτήρ) of the immortals against chilly doom' (657) and promises the eager support of the Hundred-Handers in return (661–2) – respect for established powers (Hecate 411–15, 423–5; Styx 399; and others, to which add an explicit promise not to upset the *geras* and *timē* enjoyed by the older gods who would join him against the Titans 392–4), fair division of attained privilege (a promise to enfranchise one and all 395–6, and the fair division of *timai* that crowns his ascent 885). In the light of Zeus' exceptional (and atypical) show of overwhelming force against Typhoeus (which brings to a cataclysmic end the monster's challenge to Zeus' supremacy 839–56) it is easy to forget that Zeus occupies his supreme throne by acclamation of all his subjects: 'They then urged Olympian far-seeing Zeus, with the counsel of Gaia, to be *basileus* and rule over the immortals' (883–5).[88] Thus considered, the *Theogonic* Zeus

is portrayed as a *primus inter pares* who rules not only by right of accomplishment but also by keeping his pledges faithfully: 'Thus, in just the same way [as Zeus did with Styx] he fulfilled for all through and through precisely as he promised' (402–3). From this vantage point, his solitary supremacy in the *Works and Days*, as a matter of religious logic embodied by poetic narrative, appears as a decidedly later stage. Where the *basileus* performs his social role as perfectly and effectively as he does in the *Theogony* (an accurate reflection of the 'politically aristocratic' yet 'democratically concerned' Zeus the poem depicts), there is no expectation of, or occasion for, any conflict or confrontation between him and the singer. There is, rather, a parallel of authority in speech in so far as the poetry of the new order – the poetry of the *polis* that the Hesiodic corpus embodies – performs a function similar to that of the *basileus'* speech: it is speech that constructs and restores social harmony and order, implicitly confronting injustice wherever found, as Hesiod does, and reminding hearers that the order of Zeus cannot long be thwarted, for he will at length repay transgressors with due justice (*WD* 105).

Rival traditions of poetry, bound to parochial concerns, rooted in the interests of local elites who sponsor them and seek to control them, threaten the ambitious Panhellenic socio-cultural project of Hesiodic poetry. They offer alternative views of reality that may have long enjoyed the presumption of divine authority and inspiration, but which the Muses now disown as lacking the favour of their truthful telling. We are thus invited to consider *ex post facto* that they have been inflicted upon performers as a mark of divine rejection. Against this background, shepherds must stand for the local poetry that is here deprecated – if not closely associated with it as their performers (not impossible, as I shall note below), at least as indexical of the social groups and economic arrangements that support it. *Theogony* 26 suggests that this society, dominated by the local elite, is viewed through the lens of its peculiar setting for the performance of poetry: the feast. Elite feasting, in all periods, prototypically depended on the conspicuous consumption of meat. This was so whether the context was private, semi-public or even that of a local festival sponsored by the elite. And for the consumption of meat, cowherds and shepherds are the essential enablers (with sheep not as conspicuous as cattle but much more common[89]).

That Hesiod and his ilk are rebuked as instruments of specialised pastoralism follows (among other things) from the pointed use of ἄγραυλοι: the Muses do not rebuke shepherds *simpliciter*, but 'field-dwelling shepherds'. By locating their homesteads in the fields, they segregate their sphere of work from the nucleated *polis* centre where Panhellenic poetry is performed. Theirs is the marginal land, the remote hinterland, away from the *agora* and city festivals. Like Odysseus' goatherds (*Od.* XIV.103–4), they live on the remote border of the land (ἐσχατιῇ), where they have no neighbours.[90] Eumaios, Odysseus' swineherd, lived in such a remote farmstead (*Od.* XXIV.150; cf. *Od.* XIII.407–8): it was built with stones, 'far from his mistress and the old man Laertes' (*Od.* XIV.9–10), at a good distance from

the city (ἔκαθεν δέ τε ἄστυ φάτ' εἶναι *Od.* XVII.25).[91] Odysseus opposes 'the town' (κατὰ πτόλιν *Od.* XVII.18) to Eumaios' 'farmsteads' (ἐπὶ σταθμοῖσι 20) 'in the fields' (κατ' ἀγρούς 18). When he returns from his journey, Telemakhos asks Eumaios for 'the news in town' (τί δὴ κλέος ἔστ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ; *Od.* XVI.461): the herder's farmstead is clearly segregated from the nucleated settlement by a distance that is both physical and social. Within its 'courtyard' (αὐλή XIV.13) Eumaios had made twelve sties for sows as overnight shelters ('as beds for the swine' εὐνὰς συσίν 14). The security of the flocks overnight would have been the chief concern of herders. The word αὐλή is derived from ἰαύω 'to spend the night', and its original sense can still be felt in *Il.* XVIII.162 and *Od.* X.410–12. In the latter passage, a simile, calves sated with pasture are spending the night in the fields (ἄγραυλοι πόριες 410); for their safety they have returned to their overnight folds (lit. 'to the manure' ἐς κόπρον 411, which would accumulate nightly), but the pens (σηκοί 412) cannot restrain them as they frisk and run about their mothers. The σηκοί need not be anything more than makeshift enclosures. In the former passage, another simile, this time involving ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι (162), the adjective ἄγραυλοι is best taken not to specify a particular class of shepherds but adverbially, that is, as specifying the setting in which the shepherds cannot drive the hungry lion away from a carcass. The shield of Achilles features a scene that well represents, I believe, what is in view in the *Theogony*: sheep grazing in a fair glen with 'folds, roofed huts, and pens' (σταθμούς τε κλισίας τε κατηρεφέας ἰδὲ σηκούς XVIII.589), the various makeshift structures needed to keep the flock overnight and to shelter the shepherds.[92] I note with interest Lamberton's experience when he travelled to the upper reaches of the valley of Arkhontitsa (usually identified with Hesiod's Permessos):

> If you are courageous enough to make the trek up through the pass to the west . . . , what you find is quite literally a small summer colony of herdsmen with their families, living in the open (*agrauloi*; *Theog.* 26) or, more specifically, in tents. They camp out there all summer, where it is wooded and relatively cool, the water is good, and the pasture on the high slopes of the spur of Helikon, today called Zagaras, supports sheep and even cattle at a time when the lowland pastures are brown, dry, and intolerably hot, both at Panaghia and Neokhori, where the modern shepherds have the homes, and at nearby Askra.[93]

Although, as I have argued above, I do not believe that the specific setting of Boeotia is in and of itself significant to the interpretation of the poem, Lamberton's vignette is broadly representative of the experience of the Greek shepherd that lies behind the descriptive element of the proem to the *Theogony*.

Social isolation was often accompanied by an inferior social status: many shepherds were slaves and even those who were free seem not to have owned their flocks. This reflects the fact that in the ancient world specialised animal husbandry was largely an economic activity of the elite wealthy.[94] Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, the most famous literary witness

to specialised pastoralism, features a Theban slave shepherd (1123) and a Corinthian 'vagrant' hired freeman (1029). At 1136–9 we learn that these two would spend six months in the fields, only to return in winter to their respective folds – the Theban one at least at some distance from the city (761–2). The use of both slave herdsmen and low-status freemen is attested in Classical Athens.[95] To low status Greece joined a certain ideological hostility to nomadism, readily associated with shepherding without qualification.[96] This prejudice dovetailed nicely with the view that sedentary agriculture was the ideal of civilised living. Tilling the land was the quintessential ἔργον in times of peace (as was fighting in times of war), and this accounts for the use of ἔργα (*Il.* V.92, XII.283, XVI.392; *Theog.* 879) – sometimes even ἔργον (*WD* 409) – to denote the cultivated lands and their crops. If tilling the land was hard work,[97] the converse was that specialised pastoralism (conceptualised as roaming for pasture) entailed lazy shepherds: 'The idlest men (ἀργότατοι) are nomads (νομάδες), for they get their nourishment without effort (ἄνευ πόνου) from domesticated animals while doing nothing (σχολάζουσιν)' (Arist. *Pol.* I.7, 1256a31–2).

The description of the Cyclopes in *Odyssey* IX makes clear that this ideological prejudice against specialised pastoralism is at least as old as the Archaic period and part of the cultural background to the Muses' scolding of the shepherds in the *Theogony*. The Cyclopes do not plough (108–10): they are specialised pastoralists who live in the marginal hinterland (ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ 182), each apart from the rest and obedient to no law (188–9). Their pastoralism is pointedly depicted as the negative image of a *polis*, without deliberative assemblies or statutes (112, 114–15). Lacking *tekhnai*, they neither sail nor trade. Odysseus hints at their laziness when he remarks on the absence of craftsmen who could 'build with effort' (κάμοιεν 126) well-benched ships and who 'with effort could have made (κέ . . . ἐκάμοντο 130) the island well-founded[98] for them'. This passage proves that what Shaw calls 'all the salient features of the pastoralist ideology' (1982–3: 22) are already present in Archaic epic. These features do not presuppose an indistinct narrative of cultural evolution but constitute a pointed statement about specialised pastoralism's ideological marginality to the political society that is the concern of Hesiodic poetry.

As an index of the practice of elite feasting and of pre- and early-*polis* social arrangements dominated by the elite, shepherds also have the advantage (as a matter of ideological representation and often of economic fact) that they are, as noted above, the decided social inferiors not only of the elite but also of middling landed citizens. With the abusive gibe 'mere bellies', the Muses draw on a long-standing epic trope to indict Hesiod and his peers as willing coadjutants in an effort to compromise truthfulness of speech in exchange for sustenance. Svenbro (1976: 46–73) explored this long ago in a seminal study which has served as a valuable foundation for further work.[99] Svenbro criticised approaches to *Theogony* 26 built a priori on dichotomies impossibly anachronistic for the Archaic period. The most common of these is the opposition between the spiritual and the material, mapped in turn onto truth-telling and lying. As Svenbro noted

(1976: 48), thus crudely drawn, this anachronistic dichotomy could not tell pastoralism from arable farming (both being manual labour). This points up the need for interpreting *Theogony* 26 in the context of the social values probed by Archaic epic poetry.

Focusing directly on γαστήρ (γαστέρες οἶον), Svenbro convincingly concluded that the record of hexameter poetry establishes two strong and complementary associations with 'the belly' or 'hunger'. The first follows from a series of oppositions (structured around *gastēr*) between a well-ordered life in community and living on the margins of society under circumstances that are (potentially or in actual fact) injurious to it. To the extent that it draws on this first association, 'mere bellies' depicts the life of shepherds as lonely and without the benefit of society (the adjective 'field-dwelling' adding to this portrayal).[100] It is in the context of an opposition of hinterland (Helikon) to communal settlement that the Muses bestow the divine gift of song/speech (*Theog.* 83–4) as instrumental to the good order of society. Thus do lonely field-dwelling shepherds give way to assembled citizens conciliated by the inspired speech of the adjudicating *basilēes* (*Theog.* 88–92). The second association hinges on two other polarities: self-sufficient livelihood, which safeguards the freedom of speech that truth-telling requires, especially the truth-telling of the professional performer; and dependence on human hospitality and patronage, which tends to involve a speaker in the expedient embellishing of his words, the servile and self-serving tailoring of his message in view of those who provide for his physical needs.[101] As Svenbro observed (1976: 57), *gastēr* in *Theogony* 599 (a simile that compares the offspring of Pandora to drones) displays the selfsame constellation of ideological associations it exhibits in the Homeric poems. Pandora herself is described as 'sheer, intractable deceitful cunning' in *Theog.* 589 and in *WD* 83. This latter passage emphasises her deceptive speech: 'Then in her breast . . . [Hermes] put lies and cunning words and a thievish character' (77–8). With cunning lies, a wife in her parasitic dependence seeks to manipulate and control her husband.

It is easy to appreciate how the twin emphases reviewed above – the contrast, first, between the non-social countryside and the community; and, secondly, between independent truthful telling and lying to suit the audience – reappear in my argument as the opposition between local poetry under elite control, ideologically sited in pre-*polis kōmai* or in the marginal hinterlands of the *polis*, and Panhellenic poetry, ideologically sited in the *polis* settlement and subject to supra-local communal dynamics that urge the performer away from the parochial interests of the local elite. The very inclusion in *Od.* XVII.385 of the 'inspired singer' among the δημιοεργοί ('community workers')[102] who are summoned (382, 386) 'one from one place, one from another' (382–3) presumes a degree of itinerancy for the performer of epic poetry, if not necessarily the practice of regular travel from place to place. The Panhellenic performer travels among *poleis*. Because he does so for festival performance (invited by the *polis* or enticed by competitive prizes), he is (at least nominally) under

communal, not individual elite, patronage. His consequent dependence on others for his livelihood takes an institutional form that greatly lessens his exposure to individual discretion.[103] It is therefore conceptualised in very different terms, neither as the compulsory wandering examined above nor as the consequence of an intractable *gastēr*. Yet, as the pairing of beggar and singer in *WD* 26 shows, a certain ambiguous status of dependence necessarily remains at the heart of patronage, whatever its form, and the performer who would preserve his honourable autonomy must find rhetorical ways of recasting his services as voluntary exchange that is mutually beneficial to singer and patron.[104]

The interpretation of *Theogony* 26 advanced above helps to illuminate the notorious crux of *Theogony* 35: ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην; ('But what are these things to me concerning the oak and the rock?'). Although space prevents me from presenting my analysis here, I can advance its conclusion: ταῦτα περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην corresponds to poetry that concerns human (as opposed to divine) origins, that is, to poems that make human ancestry and descent their subject.[105] And since myths of individual human origins would have been typically local (and of local interest only), and would have related to the genealogical connections of local elites with the past, their poetry would have been inimical to the Panhellenic project that is Hesiodic poetry.[106]

Theogony 26 also looks forward to the emphatic τύνη that opens verse 36. Traditionally, it is considered a self-address picked up immediately by ἀρχώμεθα. But the change in number is as harsh as the underlying psychology unlikely. Although Greek poetry furnishes many instances of self-address, not one of West's parallels (1966: 169) takes the form of a vocative singular 'you' with a first plural verb. If the self-address expresses criticism, as most think, the catachresis presupposes an implausible psychological split. There is another approach, however, that neither involves the reader in contradiction nor accepts the impossible view that Hesiod is belittling his induction as a digression:[107] with τύνη he emphatically singles out a representative (and potential) poetic adversary among the field-dwelling shepherds who stand in the background of the *Dichterweihe*.[108] Hesiod now turns to him and enjoins him from the performance of the deprecated local poetry that the Muses have characterised as ψεύδεα πολλὰ . . . ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα. With this rhetorical gesture, the newly inaugurated Panhellenic performer lends his explicit assent and validation to the charge he has received, and makes the moral imperative that inheres in it applicable to all performers. The sequence of thought becomes clear if we bear in mind that the Muses have chided field-dwelling shepherds as performers, or decisive enablers, of epichoric poetry. Hesiod is now tasked instead with the performance of Panhellenic poetry, whose theme is 'the race of the blessed ones, who always are', a theme that includes the Muses 'first and last' (33–4). This represents a radical departure from what Hesiod the shepherd has hitherto stood for. This new beginning provokes the ἀλλά (35), an adversative at the intersection of the old and the new that offers one last glance back at narratives of local origins, τὰ περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην

– only, the demonstrative ταῦτα is substituted for the merely anaphoric τά, because the passage has just identified epichoric poetry as ψεύδεα πολλά, and by proximity it is contextually available for deictic reference. In the (notional) presence of a (prototypical) rival performer conjured up by τύνη, Hesiod wonders to great rhetorical effect: 'But [since I am henceforth to sing of Panhellenic origins] what to me are these local narratives of origins [that have hitherto occupied us]? *You* [too – i.e. you and I] let us begin from the Muses.' At the very beginning of beginnings – the hortatory Μουσάων ἀρχώμεθα – the authority of Panhellenic poetry is marked both by the performer's divine inauguration (he is the Muses' elect from a multitude of offending shepherds) and by his championing the cause of this poetry among his old companions.[109]

Ultimately, a certain awkwardness remains in the close tie that associates shepherds with performers of local poetry. This awkwardness would vanish if one could regard Hesiod and other herders straightforwardly as performers themselves. The constellation of ideological oppositions between specialised pastoralism and the Panhellenic poetry of the *polis* naturally (but not necessarily) leads the reader to adopt this viewpoint. For this reason Svenbro legitimately remarks on the basis of *Theogony* 27–8 that 'c'est en tant qu'aèdes que les "bergers" attirent l'attention des Muses' (1976: 63). Katz and Volk (2000: 123–4) criticise the equation of shepherds with poets as unwarranted because it would 'entail that Hesiod was already a poet even before encountering the Muses and that the *Dichterweihe* merely transformed him from a poet of lies into a poet of truth' (p. 124). But this view is hardly untenable. Alcinous' celebrated opinion of Odysseus in *Od.* XI.363–9 reminds us that Archaic Greek thought mapped truthfulness onto shapeliness of speech (and *vice versa*). The bond that ties beauty and truth together sufficiently motivates the statement that the Muses 'once taught Hesiod *beautiful* song' (ποθ' Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν *Theog.* 22): the adverb ποτέ shows that here ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν is best understood as a synecdoche for the performer's inauguration; hence, as a qualifier of ἀοιδήν (as 'song' and 'singing'), καλήν sums up the essential, *truthful* nature of the Panhellenic poetry that Hesiod will henceforth perform. The emphatic focus on the distinct quality and superior authority of this poetry – a focus majestically resounded at 25 and 52 by a verse-long naming of the goddesses as '*Olympian* Muses, the daughters of aegis-holding Zeus', a reiteration that makes the *Dichterweihe* and the ensuing archetypal hymn into a narrative *inclusio* – justifies the view that the language of initiation would be legitimate and pertinent to Hesiod's transformation, even if he had belonged among shepherd-performers of local poetry before his fateful encounter with the Muses. The other key elements of the inauguration may be congruously integrated into this reading: the authoritative *skēptron* of proclamation and governance – a laurel shoot, suggestive of Apollonian inspiration (*Theog.* 94–5) – and the 'divine voice' that is the Muses' own (39–40), as they themselves archetypally sing the Panhellenic song of 'what is, shall be, and was before' (38), the song of the *kosmos* that has come under the rule of Zeus.

It bears repeating here that my argument does not require, although it certainly allows for and welcomes, the view that Hesiod the 'field-dwelling shepherd' engaged in the performance of the deprecated local poetry.[110] This notion is facilitated by the transcultural, common co-occurrence of specialised pastoralism and musical diversion, as lonely shepherds often while away their moments of idleness – especially the tedious hours of grazing – with an instrument or singing (or both).[111] The transcultural figure of the performing herdsman surely stands behind the Greek tradition of pastoral poetry, whose roots must ultimately be sought in the *persona* of Hesiod.[112]

Conclusion

In this chapter I have drawn attention to the status of specialised pastoralism as socially marginal to the *polis* project – both instrumental to, and under the control of, the elites of the Archaic and Classical periods and their modes of social dominance. Elites often established aristocratic networks whose interests transcended allegiance to one's own political community. The corresponding social arrangement characteristically stood in varying degrees of tension with the shared civic identity at the heart of the Greek *polis*, which brooked no competition. For this reason, the Muses rightly chastise the figure of the shepherd as an enabler of elite socio-economic privilege inimical to the ideal of the *polis*, and as ideologically indexical of elite claims to cultural supremacy. The shepherd represents what stands (or may potentially stand) in the way of Panhellenic poetry. This poetry of the *polis* circulated as an object of cultural exchange and by its nature and vocation escaped and superseded elite control.

The peculiar social and cultural valence I have ascribed to specialised pastoralism is an ideological construct with a socio-economic basis. Operative at the opening of the *Theogony*, it motivates the Muses' characterisation of their addressees as 'field-dwelling shepherds', 'base disgraces' and 'mere bellies'. At its core lies the essential contrast between pre-*polis* culture – provincial, imbued with narrow local interests, under the dominant patronage and control of local elites – and the cultural products of the *polis*, of Panhellenic scope and diffusion. Because even this ideologically shaped opposition is a Panhellenic formulation, it does not mirror closely the economic *realia* of any one period or place. But it gets at the heart of the *polis* as a socio-political and cultural watershed with an appropriate and convenient level of generality that allows Panhellenic audiences to grasp both ends of the contrast: on the one hand, the deprecated past, indexed by specialised pastoralism and local poetry of lying inspiration; on the other, the divinely validated present, the socio-economic life and the ethics of personal and institutional dealings within the *polis*, whose outlines are the explicit thematic focus of the *Works and Days* and the implicit agenda of the *Theogony*.

Notes

1. Unless otherwise specified, all translations are mine.
2. Notable exceptions are Svenbro 1976, Thalmann 1984 and Nagy 1990.
3. Few scholars share this conviction and attempt to ground their interpretation of *Theog.* 27–8 upon it. Svenbro offers a notable exception. He criticises Havelock's reading of these two verses precisely for ignoring verse 26 (Svenbro 1976: 49). Cf. Pratt 1993: 107 and Katz and Volk 2000: 123.
4. The name 'Hesiod' embodies a biography that is both traditional and internal to Hesiodic poetry. It is a function of the poetic tradition's own self-articulation. There need not be any (and there probably is no) straightforward historical reality behind it (it is not 'biographical' in the ordinary sense of the word). Cf. Nagy 2009. I will ordinarily forego the use of scare quotes with the name Hesiod except where I draw particular attention to the constructed quality of his *persona*.
5. I mean 'marginal' vis-à-vis the *polis*, i.e. *kōmai* whose low degree of integration with the *polis* potentially rendered them ideological reminders of Iron Age, pre-*polis* historical stages. With this adjective I seek to exclude, e.g., Sparta's *kōmai* which jointly made up the Spartan conurbation. Cf. Cartledge 2002: 90.
6. Snodgrass 1971: 379–80. Cf. Snodgrass 1980: 35–6; 1987: 190–209.
7. For a review of the controversy, see Howe 2008: 33–8.
8. Snodgrass 2006b (1989): 135.
9. E.g. Sallares 1991 and Rose 2012: 68–9, n. 29 (cf. 66, n. 22, 72, n. 40). Comparing Garnsey and Morris (1989: 99) with Morris (2007: 224) shows just how little progress archaeology has made in the last twenty years in understanding Early Iron Age nutrition and the relative importance of cereal and meat.
10. Although other poems were also part of the Hesiodic tradition broadly construed, given the greater degree of reciprocal integration the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* attained within the dynamic of Panhellenism, we need not fear distorting their meaning by largely limiting our interpretative context to these two poems alone.
11. See Clay 2003: 5–8 for an intertextual view. For a limit to this integrative reading, see González 2010a, 386–7. My view that this complementarity was gradually effected in performance contrasts with Most's (1993: 80–3), who thinks that it was the act of writing down the *Theogony* that forced the *Works and Days* to recognise it.
12. Perhaps under the spell of pastoral poetry, scholars have not always grasped the basic point that Hesiod is *not* a shepherd-poet but a singer who was once a shepherd. It is central to his poetic *persona* that he has left behind his pastoral past.
13. To judge from the *scholia* to *Theog.* 26, in antiquity some already sensed that something was amiss. Cf. Michaelis 1875: 41–2 (no. XIX).
14. Cf. Martin 1992: 27–8.
15. Even the (emphatically not Boeotian) short-vowel accusatives can be explained from within the Ionic dialect (Nagy 1990: 61–3). Cf. West 1966: 80.
16. One way in which his pretension to a Boeotian extraction or upbringing might serve a functionally Ionian Hesiod is in lending him the character of an outsider. Cf. Martin 1992.
17. Leake 1835: 2.491.

18. Wallace 1974: 8. Note that Paus. IX.38.4 describes Askra as πολυλήιος ('rich in cornfields').
19. Detienne (1963: 38–9) speculated that Askra's portrayal was made to fit the character of the 'Iron Age', with its harshness and hubris (*WD* 174–201). But, if so, it puts an odd emphasis on the weather ('winter' and 'summer'). One would not expect the seasons to modulate the moral tendencies of the age. Nor is it clear why Hesiod would have singled out this village, unless he thought it especially depraved. But why should the Iron Age not etch its character indifferently on all places? By marking out Askra as the peculiar domain of hubris, Hesiodic poetry could hardly hope for a favourable reception there. I submit that the unflattering (and factually false) portrayal regards the marginal socio-economic space that Askra, identified explicitly as a *kōmē* at 639, epitomises vis-à-vis the *polis* (of Thespiai, if one insists on particularising the geography). *WD* 640 evokes how hard it is for workers who are reduced to poverty (638) to eke out a living at the margins of *polis* life in any season. This is yet another way of distinguishing the backward-looking and politically unequal epichoric domain of local elites from the forward-looking, Panhellenic one, inclusive of all citizens as equals. Askra's alleged destruction (cf. Pertusi 1955: 202 *ad WD* 633–40) could only help the Panhellenic projection of the poetry (Nagy 1990: 52). For a different approach cf. Lamberton 1988: 30–4.
20. The *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos s.v.* lists *WD* 635 as the sole locus with the purported sense 'hierher' ('hither').
21. Huxley (2005: 221) espouses a similar conclusion without elaboration. Space prevents me from reviewing here the testimony of Proklos (*apud* Pertusi 1955: 202) and from refuting the attempts to emend τῇδε to τεῖδε (Bergk) or τύιδε (West).
22. This misreading is especially unfortunate when it deliberately opposes to life in the rising *polis* the socio-cultural outlines of the village life it reconstructs (cf. Edwards 2004: xii).
23. The urban centre was often called *asty*, or even '*polis*' in its narrower *urban* sense (Hansen 1997). Even Sparta, which according to Thucydides (I.10.2) was 'settled by *kōmai*' (κατὰ κώμας . . . οἰκισθείσης), must have featured a conurbation at its centre (Hansen 2007: 150–1, 1997: 34–5; Cavanagh 1991: 114). This urban centre is elsewhere denoted '*polis*' (e.g. Thuc. I.134.1) or '*asty*' (e.g. Hdt. VII.220.4). With οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως (Thuc. I.10.2), Thucydides draws attention to the absence of a physical συνοικισμός: 'their city is not concentrated' (Hornblower 1991: 34).
24. Philodemos *Peri Oikonomias*, column IX, lines 31–4 (Jensen 1906: 36).
25. Cf. Humphreys (1993: 10) on 'the *oikos* tradition of economic activity' as one of 'careful supervision and management, self-sufficiency, production for private consumption'. Hopkins 1983: xi–xiv reviews the Finley model of the ancient economy, which 'stresses the cellular self-sufficiency of the ancient economy'. Cf. Morris 1999.
26. Like Donlan before him (1989: 28–9), Morris sees in this fact the roots of the egalitarian turn of later Greek society (1994a: 53).
27. Cf. Blok and Lardinois 2006. Aristotle thought that a territory as large as Babylon would be needed to feed five thousand men who did not till the ground (*Pol.* 1265a14–17). This statement is relevant in assessing the report in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Dion. Hal. *Lys.* 32) that Phormisios' proposal in 403 to restrict political rights to landowners would have disenfranchised

five thousand men. Cf. Finley 1952: 56–7 and Davies 2004: 35 with n. 72. Even if one accepts this figure, approximately four fifths to three quarters of Athenian citizens would still have been landowners.

28. Since the calculations assume that wealth was generated from the land, landowning will have been even more egalitarian if wealthy Athenians were profitably involved in other segments of the economy (cf. Morris 1994b: 362). Cf. Foxhall 2002.
29. On the basis of surface surveys Morris (1994b: 363–4) suggests that, starting in the sixth century BC, the Greeks increasingly adopted a more dispersed settlement pattern of rural residence with a view to intensive farming. This hints at marketable surpluses rather than subsistence agriculture. The important point, however, is that this development (the reality of which is still contested) remains invisible to elite, ideal representations in our written sources. The principle of equality between citizens encouraged segregating market exchange from the ideal *polis* (cf. Möller 2007: 372).
30. Gallant uses the word 'peasants', not the best term given its usual associations (Millett 1984: 90 and Wolf 1966: 11; cf. Whitley 1991: 362 and Osborne 1985a: 142). Because Edwards (2004: 3–8) correctly rejects that such a characterisation applies to Hesiod and Askra, he concludes that the *Works and Days* regards 'a community more primitive and more autonomous than a peasantry' (p. 5), i.e. 'a small-scale Greek [village] community at the dawn of the Archaic period' (p. 8). To be sure, by Classical standards the community is small-scale, but a small-scale *polis*, not a village. See further Garnsey 1988: 44–5; Hansen 2006: 29; and Foxhall 2002: 216–17.
31. For Athenian grain imports before the Peloponnesian War, see Garnsey 1988; Garnsey and Morris 1989: 103; Sallares 1991: 94–5, 97–8, 299; Moreno 2007.
32. Whereas each adult brother would found his own *oikos* (Sallares 1991: 196–7), aged parents would be cared for by their heir and remain members of his *oikos* (Gallant 1991: 21; *WD* 376–8 shows that partible inheritance is undesirable). It is therefore natural to set *WD* 185–8 back in the context of the *oikos*. For *oikos* as 'nuclear family', see Donlan 1989: 11; Roy 1999: 1–2.
33. For the restricted scope of Athenian family law and its ineffectiveness in settling intra-familial disputes, see e.g. Humphreys 1993: 4–9.
34. Morris 1991: 44–6.
35. Archaic Thespiai was composed of three or four villages in close proximity, with arable in between. Bintliff and Snodgrass (1988a: 66) note that, for the period that spans the ninth to sixth centuries BC, its sporadic pattern of occupation 'conforms to the model for the growth of the historical Greek city from a scatter of separate villages or hamlets' (see fig. 7 at p. 67; cf. Snodgrass 1990: 130, 1991: 14). This settlement pattern exemplifies well what will have been the prevalent rural character of the Archaic *polis*. In its light, one may see why a focus on the *oikos* and the rhythms of arable farming would be eminently pertinent to poetry that addressed itself to the rising *polis*.
36. Raaflaub 1993: 58 highlights the role of the community (much more than an agglomeration of autonomous *oikoi*), of communal structures, and of communal will and action attributed collectively to the *demos*. Cf. Donlan 1989: 14. Donlan expects of Panhellenic poetry what it cannot (and will not) deliver when he demands explicit reference to magistracies and boards or to formal administrative and military divisions (which would have to be *local*

in character) before he will grant its depiction the character of a 'true state' (1989: 17).

37. Sometimes prejudicially condemned on the grounds that discord between states is mentioned nowhere else. But West notes (1978: 201) that the compound χειροδίκαι is typically Hesiodic and that often the free elements of such compounds appear nearby (here, at 192). Moreover, war is in fact mentioned at 229 and 246.
38. *Od.* VI.3, VIII.555 (cf. VI.191), XI.14, XIV.43 (cf. I.2–3).
39. This assumption includes as much the Odyssean Cimmerians as the 'dark men' of Hesiod over whose 'people and city' – contrasted with the 'Panhellenes' – the sun roams in the winter. Typified positively by the colonial Skheriē (*Od.* VI.4–10) and negatively by the apolitical and autonomous Cyclopean families (*Od.* IX.112–15), epic references to *poleis* are most naturally taken as clear specimens, however embryonic, of the *polis* as a political project.
40. Cf. Spahn 1980: 544.
41. So Alkman *PMG* 123; Anakreon *PMG* 354; Theognis 301–2; Semonides fr. 7.55, 110–11 West. Cf. Pl. *Resp.* 578d–9a, *Leg.* 696b, 737d, 761d, 766e. For the 'neighbour motif' generally see De Martino 1987; and in Pindar, see Bundy 1986: 70 and Rusten 1983. Of course, the category of 'neighbours' also included non-citizen πρόσχωροι ἄνδρες (Xen. *An.* V.3.9; cf. II.3.18).
42. Nagle (2006: 62–3), writing about the *Classical polis*, remarks on the 'ethos of reciprocity and mutual obligations' that 'enabled householders to construct and maintain alliances and networks of mutual assistance with other citizen householders'. Borrowing was conducted 'through connections arising from the social embeddedness of the *oikos* in *polis* society and expectations of reciprocity' (see also Nagle 2006: 36). Cf. Millett 1991: 31–6, esp. 35, where he acknowledges the 'continuation of the Hesiodic principle in the reciprocal lending between neighbouring *oikoi* in fourth-century Athens'. Millett is wrong, however, to see discontinuity vis-à-vis the *Works and Days* in 'the extension of this ideology of reciprocity to the wider world of the *polis*', a judgement built on the notion that the poem is sited in the 'village of Ascra' for which 'the nearby city or town of Thespiae was a place to be avoided if possible' (p. 35). Millett 1984 elaborates this view at p. 109, n. 16 (followed by Garnsey and Morris 1989: 100); his logic, contradicted by the text (cf. *WD* 227, 231–2, 237), depends on divorcing city from hinterland in the Hesiodic *polis*.
43. One is mentioned at *WD* 405 ('an ox for ploughing'; cf. Archilochus fr. 35 W), then a pair at 436 ('two oxen, nine years old'). Scattered references to oxen are also found in *WD* 46; 348; 429 and 434; 436 and 468; 452–4; 489; 515; 541; 544; 559; 581; 591; 607–8; 790 and 795; 816.
44. Hodkinson (1988: 39) cites calculations that suggest a minimum of 5 hectares to make the use of oxen feasible. In the Classical *polis*, this would have been 'the rule-of-thumb equivalent of a basic hoplite lot'; most Classical *poleis* will have contained poorer farming households of sub-hoplite status with plots as small as 2 hectares that will have been cultivated continuously (without biennial fallow) by hand with spade and hoe. Cf. Sallares 1991: 312.
45. Beef-eating is mentioned only in *WD* 591, an idyllic scene of luxurious and lascivious summer feasting that is hardly realistic. Cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1928: 108 *ad loc.*

46. Nagle 2006: 62, n. 74. Cf. Wagstaff and Gamble, 1982.
47. *WD* 606 notes the need to collect winter fodder for oxen and mules. The words χόρτος and συρφετός refer to straw and chaff, the by-products of threshing (Isager and Skydsgaard 1992: 25, n. 13 correctly *contra* Gallant 1982: 114, who assumes a short-fallow cereal–pulse rotation with fodder crops such as 'vetches, lentils, and lupines'; cf. Edwards 2004: 144–5). Isager and Skydsgaard remark that the growing of specialised fodder crops does not appear to have been commonly practised and for this reason animal husbandry on a large scale was restricted to special ecological niches (1992: 108).
48. Isager and Skydsgaard 1992: 111 emphasise the competition for food between man and domestic animals and observe that 'animal production in Greece depend[ed] on crops that could otherwise serve as food for humans'. I am persuaded by the objections of Osborne (1985b; 1992) and Foxhall (2000: 488–91; 2002: 212–15) against the inference by Morris (1994b: 352 and 363–4) of a revolution in the early fifth century BC in agricultural practice (the adoption of intensive cropping) and exchange (a turn towards markets). See, further, Cherry 1988, Hodkinson 1988 and Skydsgaard 1988. For an attempt at a compromise, see Forbes 1994 and 1995.
49. Although weakly attested, the line is clearly Hesiodic (so West 1978: 181 *ad loc.*).
50. Isager and Skydsgaard 1992: 110–11; Sallares 1991: 382–3.
51. The traditional model of ancient Greek pastoralism, which assumes transhumance and animal husbandry not tightly integrated with agriculture, has been challenged by Halstead 1987 and others after him (see Cherry and Hodkinson in Whittaker 1988). Cf. Sallares 1991: 383; Isager and Skydsgaard 1992: 108–14; Forbes 1995; and Edwards 2004: 136–8. Moreno (2007: 15–24) convincingly exposes the weaknesses of the new model (at least for the Archaic and Classical periods) against the strengths of the traditional one. Chandezon (2003: 285, n. 72) approves of Skydsgaard (1988: 81–4) *contra* Hodkinson (1988: 41–5).
52. Either a three-field cycle of bare fallow or a two-field short fallow seems the most likely regime (Edwards 2004: 139–41 with n. 21; cf. Gallant 1991: 52–6).
53. Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988b argue for deliberate manuring in ancient Boeotia (cf. the review by Alcock et al. 1994 and the reply by Snodgrass 1994). Without the cultivation of specialised fodder plants, any systematic manuring must have depended on household refuse and on the excrement of both humans and the few animals unrelated to specialised husbandry kept at the farmstead (cf. Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* II.7.4; Sallares 1991: 382; Garnsey 1992: 151).
54. E.g. verses 515–18 (cf. 557–8).
55. Athenian forensic speeches suggest that no essential connection obtained between agriculture and animal husbandry (Isager and Skydsgaard 1992: 102). Forbes (1994: 191) accepts the reality of an 'ideological divorce of livestock and land'. Even if not fully reflected by the facts on the ground, this is of paramount importance to the interpretation of Hesiod's induction from shepherd to singer. Hodkinson himself uses 'divorce' (1988: 42) for the separation between animal husbandry and arable farming in Xenophon's estate. [Dem.] 47.52 does not describe, as he claims, a combined agro-pastoral estate (Hodkinson 1988: 46–7; cf. Cooper 1977–8: 172). Moreover, Xen. *Oec.* 18.2

recommends burning the stubble in the fallow land without ever so much as a hint that animals might profitably graze on it. The land leases *IG* II² 1241 and 2493 provide the most superficially convincing 'evidence' of a cereal–pulse rotation (Garnsey 1988: 94; Hodkinson 1988: 43). But Moreno notes that they are 'too vague and too late' (2007: 18); from these and Theophrastos (16–17) he concludes that 'stipulations for pulses are far from being the rule among surviving leases' (cf. his 'Appendix 2' at pp. 327–9; also Osborne 1987: 41–3). On Theophrastos cf. Isager and Skydsgaard (1992: 42–3, esp. 43, n. 21) *contra* Hodkinson (1988: 42–4), and the contrasting views of Sallares 1991: 300 and Garnsey 1992: 151–2.

56. On the status of *dmões*, see Morris 1987: 177–9; Thalmann 1998: 53–62; and Edwards 2004: 106.
57. Cherry 1988: 25.
58. Cf. Arist. *Pol.* I.10, 1258a37–58b1.
59. Howe 2008: 31. This paragraph is generally indebted to Howe 2008.
60. Legon 1981: 95–6, 116.
61. For his views on the community of Dark Age Greece, see Donlan 1985; 1989: 19–20.
62. Donlan 1997: 655. Cf. Mancz 1989: 220–5; Hodkinson 1990: 142–3; Athanassakis 1992; Van Wees 1992: 49–51; Howe 2008: 39–42. See also *Od.* XIV.96–104.
63. Foxhall 1995: 244–5. Cf. Mancz 1989: 228–9. Mancz states in her summary that during the Dark Age Nichoria appears to have been a self-sufficient settlement that included 'a local chief, his family, and retainers' (p. 236), with cattle as the most important commodity (for her views on Nichoria's social arrangements see, further, pp. 207–8).
64. Howe 2008. Cf. Hodkinson 1990.
65. Or to rephrase the question in terms that are less ostensibly biographical: why does the poem open with the initiation of the Muses' choice spokesman, and why do they select him from among shepherds?
66. Schwabl (1959: 25) implausibly asserts 'that the Hesiod verses [*sic*] do not primarily contain a criticism against shepherds as a class' but are intended for the shepherd Hesiod alone and use the plural 'in accordance with a usage typical of epiphanies, to drive home the contrast between mortal and god'. The examples from which Schwabl infers a conventional use of the plural turn out, on inspection, not to support the inference. Schmoll (1994: 49) simply asserts unconvincingly (without proof or argument) that '[t]he plural . . . should be construed no differently from the use of the editorial "we" in "let us begin"' (see below for a different interpretation of ἀρχώμεθα in *Theog.* 36).
67. A previous version of the same material is found in Stoddard 2004: 60–97. See below for an even more recent attempt by Haubold (2010).
68. Space prevents me from exploding further this incorrect reading of *Theog.* 27–8. For this, I direct the reader to González 2013: 235–64.
69. West 1966: 160; Tucker 1987.
70. Moral failing: Isaiah 6:9 (cf. Isaiah 6:5–6 and Matthew 13:10–17). Human ignorance: Parmenides DK 28 B6.4–5 (whether this involves abuse is doubtful); Empedokles DK 31 B2 (without abuse). Combination: *Hymn to Demeter* 256–8. Ar. *Av.* 685–7, on human weakness and transience, does not instance a *topos* of unmotivated divine abuse of humans, since its (gentle) tone of ridicule is generically determined. Orphic fr. 337 Bernabé (= 233 Kern) is reported

as Orpheus' thought and its tone is not clearly one of abuse. [Pythagoras] *Carm. Aur.* 55ff., again, is not by a god, and its tone is one of pity. Epimenides addressed DK 3 B1 to his fellow Cretans. All these parallels are of dubious applicability to *Theog.* 26. The case of Archilochus (Mnesiepes Inscription, *SEG* 15:517 A col. II.22–38; cf. Clay 2004: 104–9) is informed by the well-established ritual of choral mockery of women (cf. Hdt. V.83), and Archilochus' mockery while still uninitiated is a transparent attempt to write into his poetic induction the dominant character of his poetry.

71. The awkwardness of Stoddard's making 'shepherds' 'refer to the entire human race' (2005: 7) is nowhere so obvious as when she labours to motivate the abuse with reference to what is characteristic of shepherds (and not of human beings in general). Therefore, I disagree that shepherds make 'an excellent symbol for humanity in general' (ibid.).
72. A comprehensive survey of the epic use of ἐλεγχείη, ἐλεγχής, ἐλέγχιστος, ἔλεγχος and ἐλέγχω fails to uncover a single instance that associates reproach with a condition or status *simpliciter*. The reproach always follows on specific faults and failings (religious, moral, of character, etc.).
73. The *scholia* notwithstanding, it is hard to see why shepherds qualify for the harsh and emphatic 'mere bellies' just because they work for their sustenance. So do arable farmers! Cf. Pratt 1993: 108.
74. That Enkidu (to whom Stoddard appeals) was taught the rudiments of civilisation in a shepherd's hut (Pritchard 1969: 77 Tablet II.ii–iii) would seem to place shepherds (despite the harshness of their livelihood) on the civilised side of the man/beast divide.
75. Although it is degrading to a god, we are probably to see Apollo's tending Laomedon's cattle on Mt Ida (*Il.* XXI.448–9) as the sort of task Laomedon would have assigned to a young offspring (cf. *Il.* VI.23–5).
76. Perhaps of Near Eastern inspiration (West 1997: 226–7).
77. Cf. *Il.* XI.48, XII.225 (κόσμος); *Il.* II.126, II.476 (διακοσμέω); *Il.* II.554, II.704, II.727, II.806, III.1, XI.51, XII.87, XIV.379, XIV.388 (κοσμέω). With λαῶν at verse end, the noun ποιμήν alternates with κοσμήτωρ, ὄρχαμος, ἡγήτωρ and κοίρανος (in syntactically and metrically appropriate numbers and cases).
78. I prefer to exclude the *Catalogue* from immediate consideration. Although undeniably Panhellenic in relative terms, it stakes out its Panhellenic claim in peculiar ways. Whereas the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* by traditional design illuminate each other as mutual complements of a more comprehensive Panhellenic poetic project, the contribution of the *Catalogue of Women* to this project is uncertain.
79. Only the 'Myth of the Ages' lends itself to this reading. But even this myth, with its separate and segregated stages, provides only the barest of structures (and a problematic one at that) for a genetic account of present 'history' (i.e. of the 'age of iron').
80. *Il.* V.311–13, XIV.444–5, XV.546–51 (Haubold 2000: 18, n. 21), to which add *Il.* VI.424, XI.106, and XX.91 (with this last verse, cf. Proklos' summary of the *Kypria*, p. 42 l. 62 Bernabé).
81. The *genos* of *Eris* is the linchpin of this erroneous argument (Haubold 2010: 21). Most (1993: 77) translates *WD* 11–12, 'So, after all, I was wrong to think that there was only one γένος of Eris: all along there have been two.' This statement allegedly corrects *Theog.* 225 and, in the process, anachronistically and impossibly contradicts Hesiod's claim to inspiration at his

induction. I hope to demonstrate in a future work that *WD* 11–12 can be understood in harmony with the inspired status of both poems.

82. Haubold 2010: 16 asserts that shepherds in early Greek epic tend to be not only young but also fallible. This latter claim (worked out in greater detail in Haubold 2000: 19–20) is built on a tissue of doubtful assumptions: that *Od.* XVII.246 'has a proverbial ring to it'; that *Il.* XVI.352–6 is *typical* of shepherds and displays a *tendency;* that shepherds are seen as weak because they sometimes fail to fend off a predator. With this unfavourable appraisal contrast Athena's disguise as a young shepherd prince in *Od.* XIII.222–3.
83. Of course, since Hesiod does not suddenly become older at his induction, if immaturity is his chief deficiency, the Muses arguably do not address it and their inspiration is merely a provisional remedy (as Haubold believes). The *Dichterweihe* then becomes a largely irrelevant foil to the *Works and Days,* despite this poem's express testimony to the contrary (*WD* 658–62). And Hesiod is initiated not into farming but into the inspired performing of epic poetry, even if, as a matter of biographical narrative conceit, in the *Works and Days* we are to think of him as a citizen-farmer who brings a legal case against his lazy brother.
84. *WD* 299–309, 314–16, 368–9, 392–5. I wonder if Haubold here might not have been led astray by a long-discarded etymology of ἀεσίφρων (cf. *WD* 315), which a minority of ancient scholars apparently related to ἄϝημι and glossed as ὁ κούφας ἔχων τὰς φρένας (Hesychius *s.v.*), κοῦφος . . . τὴν φρένα (*scholia* to *Il.* XX.183), or ἀνεμώλια φρονῶν (*scholia* to *Il.* XXIII.603). Cunliffe (1963 *s.v.*) therefore translated it as 'subject to gusts of passion' and 'volatile'. See Chantraine 1999, *s.v.* ἀάω, and the *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos s.vv.* ἀασιφροσύνη, ἀασίφρων and ἀεσιφροσύνη/ἀεσίφρων (all with further bibliography).
85. Arthur (1983: 100–4) studies *Theog.* 26 in some detail and adopts many of the (by now familiar) objectionable interpretations. Katz and Volk (2000) offer a delightful, if peculiar and ultimately unconvincing, alternative that does not fit under the interpretative typologies surveyed above. I commend this piece for the clarity with which it reviews earlier interpretations of *Theog.* 27–8, and for its recognition that any persuasive reading of these verses must take *Theog.* 26 into account.
86. Cf. Brown 1953: 19–26, 29–32; Raaflaub 1993: 62; Rose 2012: 172–4, 176–7. See also Scully 2015, which appeared too late for this essay.
87. *Theog.* 495–6 serves well to make the point of Zeus' idealising combination of brain and brawn: Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης, | νικηθεὶς τέχνῃσι βίηφί τε παιδὸς ἑοῖο (cf. 73, 490; *Il.* VII.142). The Hundred-Handers acknowledge his exceeding understanding and mind (656) and his thoughtfulness (658).
88. The poem repeatedly draws attention to the grateful acquiescence of the other divinities to Zeus' pre-eminence and rule (e.g. *Theog.* 501–6). In harmony with the idyllic picture of Zeus' consensual rule, verse 624 ascribes to leader and subjects jointly the release of the Hundred-Handers (later credited to Zeus alone, 658–60). After tenderly nursing them back to strength (639–40), he appeals to them for help in a rallying speech (644–53) that pointedly draws attention to the bond of *philotēs* (651) established by their deliverance 'according to our counsels' (653).
89. Cf. Jameson 1988: 'The term *hiereion,* "sacrificial victim", when used without further specification, refers to sheep (e.g. *LSCG* 88 = *SIG*^{3} 1039), an indication that they were the most common victim' (p. 94); 'At every turn

we have seen that in the classical period, even in Attica away from the state's largesse, the predominant victims were sheep and goats' (p. 99).

90. ἀγροῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατιῆς, ᾧ μὴ πάρα γείτονες ἄλλοι (*Od.* V.489). To the extent that 'field-dwelling' is permanent or semi-permanent, ἀγροῦ ἐπ' ἐσχατιῆς might indicate an outlying farm where various forms of cultivation might also take place (cf. *Od.* XVIII.358). Depending on the context ἀγρός means either 'field' or 'farm' (including farm land and estate).
91. ἄστυ is implicitly equated with πόλις by *Od.* XVII.5 (ἄστυδε ἰέμενος) and XVII.6 (ἐγὼν εἶμ' ἐς πόλιν).
92. The explicit mention of 'roofed huts' (κλισίαι) shows that, in this instance at least, the shepherds are not simply grazing their flocks by day in a not-too-distant outfield, intending to bring them home at sunset to a settlement infield. The paradigmatic nature of the shield's depictions encourages the reader to think that overnighting in the fields, away from the main settlement, is the ordinary practice. This receives confirmation from the *Hymn to Aphrodite* 75. Lamberton's own anecdote (related immediately below) shows striking continuity with ancient practice. All of this tells against the suggestion by Hodkinson that in the *Theogony* Hesiod might have been using the pasture at the foot of Mt Helikon as an outfield 'within easy reach of his fields in the Valley of the Muses' (1988: 54). Forbes (1994: 189) shows that, even when flocks are at a relatively short distance from the home base, shepherds live in significant isolation from their larger communities and do not return to them at sundown.
93. Lamberton 1988: 30.
94. Hodkinson 1988: 55; Sallares 1991: 311; Forbes 1994: 192; Chandezon 2003: 415–17.
95. Slaves: Isaios 6.33; [Dem.] 47.52 (cf. 65); Xen. *Mem.* I.5.2. Low-status freemen: [Lys.] 20.11; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 7.11. Hodkinson notes that the position of herdsmen in inscriptions is uncertain: while some may have owned their flocks, they could equally be servants of the wealthy (1988: 55). According to Chandezon (2003: 417), the inscriptions confirm the servile status of many shepherds and show them as attached to their flocks.
96. Shaw 1982–3; Briant 1982: 9–56.
97. E.g. at *WD* 298–316, where ἔργον or its derivatives appear at 299, 302, 303, 305, 306, 308, 309, 310, 311 (twice), 312 (twice), 314, 316.
98. ἐϋκτιμένη in the manner of a city (i.e. 'good to dwell in'). For this transitive use of κάμνω see the *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos s.v.* B.4.
99. See Thalmann 1984: 144–6; Nagy 1990: 44–5, 274–5. Cf. also Pucci 1987: 157–208; Bakker 2013: 135–50.
100. *Gastēr* is recurrently associated with *anagkē* in the context of needs that only society can properly meet (Thalmann 1984: 145–6), prodding the individual into transgressive behaviour that offends social and religious propriety (*Od.* IV.369, XII.329–32, XVII.286–7, XVIII.53–4). *Gastēr* and the related βούβρωστις are also connected with what brings injury to society (*Il.* XII.300–1; *Od.* VI.133–4, XVII.286–9). *Gastēr* does not merely articulate a broad opposition between the wild and the civilised: it is a force that threatens the norms, the values and the proper constitution of society, sometimes even its survival. Cf. Svenbro 1976: 51–4.
101. In *Od.* VII.215–21 Odysseus blames his hateful and shameful *gastēr* for forcing him to 'remember it' (ἔο μνήσασθαι 217) and to 'forget everything he has gone through' (ἐκ δέ με πάντων | ληθάνει, ὅσσ' ἔπαθον 220–1). As

is generally recognised (Mariani 1967: 77–86; Rose 1975: 146–8; Stewart 1976: 155–9; Moulton 1977: 145–53; Seidensticker 1978: 14–15; Segal 1983: 23–5; Thalmann 1984: 170–6; Murnaghan 1987: 148), in his account of his κήδεα to Alcinous Odysseus is likened to a bard (*Od.* XI.367–9, XVII.513–21; also XXI.409–11 with 429–30, on which cf. Ready 2010: 149–54). Together with the meta-poetic significance of λήθη and μνημοσύνη (and the related ἀληθείη), this makes *gastēr* emblematic of the forces that hinder truthful telling (especially the truthful speech act of the professional performer). In *Od.* XVII.217–28 Melantheus accuses Odysseus of lazy begging to fill his insatiable *gastēr* (his *gastēr* is a teacher of baseness, a natural companion to laziness, and leads to vagrancy). The tie between *gastēr* and wandering (that often shades into vagrancy) is strong (Od. XV.341–5), making a man dependent on the hospitality of others, driving him to lie to obtain favours (*Od.* XIV.361–5, XIV.378–81, XVII.556–9).

102. On the δημιοεργός see the *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos s.v.* and Tandy 1997: 167–8 (with bibliography).
103. Cf. Svenbro 1976: 63.
104. Cf. Pind. *Isthm.* I.47–8 with Kurke 1991: 235–7. For an exploration of the problem of patronage ('the mercenary Muse') in the context of Theocritus XVI, see González 2010b.
105. This is not to deny that local genealogies will have often presupposed and depended upon peculiarly epichoric divine myths. For this reason, it is legitimate to see them as part of the deprecated ψεύδεα πολλὰ . . . ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα. The truthful proclamation (ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι) of *Theogony* 28 does not merely entail a shift in subject matter from human to divine genealogies. To think so is to miss the distinctive emphasis of the Muses' correction, which disavows *all* epichoric themes (divine *and* human) and enjoins the adoption of an exclusively Panhellenic perspective. Svenbro 1976: 71 underestimates the potential of theogonic poetry to forge ties with dominant aristocracies. The easy transition at the end of the *Theogony* to poetry cataloguing the heroic offspring of gods with mortals draws attention precisely to this potential.
106. The *Theogony* does not address the origins of mankind (although some scholars have wished to read at least the origin of womankind into the Prometheus story; cf. González 2010a). This silence is to be expected if, as I claim, stories of human origins would have typically taken the form of local genealogies refractory to ordinary strategies of Panhellenisation.
107. Stoddard (2004: 94) is right to be puzzled that West should think this form of self-address unremarkable (and West is hardly alone in this). But her own solution requires precisely the impossible view of the *Dichterweihe* as a digression.
108. Like the pre-induction Hesiod, these shepherds too are viewed as performers of local poetry or indexical of such performance.
109. Svenbro (1976: 68–9) offers an alternative solution to the riddle of τύνη that both diverges from, and converges on, the one I have offered above.
110. Katz and Volk (2000: 124, n. 14) express surprise that 'a number of scholars hold that v. 26 is directed at the "bad" poets or at those who rejoice in "lies similar to true things"'. The reason for this 'surprising' fact is that the passage most naturally leads to the conclusion that the shepherds are ultimately addressed in some way *qua* performers.

111. King David of Israel is taken from tending sheep (I Sam. 16:19; cf. v. 11) and employed by king Saul as a skilful harp player already in his youth (v. 18; cf. I Sam. 17:15). In the Archaic Greek poetic tradition we meet with two clear instances of the shepherd-performer. *Iliad* XVIII.535–6 features two herdsmen enjoying their pipes in ignorance of the ambush that awaits them at the watering place; the *Hymn to Aphrodite* exhibits Anchises the herdsman alone in the steading playing piercingly upon the cithara (80).
112. Cf. Gutzwiller 2006.

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11

‘Is Painting a Representation of Visible Things?’ Conceptual Reality in Greek Art: A Preliminary Sketch

Tonio Hölscher

Introduction

Recent approaches to Greek and Roman art unanimously and emphatically stress the character of images as visual and material ‘constructions’ (Bažant 1985; von den Hoff and Schmidt 2001). This concept is held by the most advanced, thoughtful and serious voices of art history, and it is applied to all kinds of figurative representation, from individual figures to multi-figured scenes, through all genres and periods of ancient art. Thus, Richard Neer sees Archaic statues as ‘signs’ to which the concept of likeness to real persons is fundamentally alien (Neer 2012: 110–12). François Lissarrague interprets scenes of a warrior’s departure on Athenian vases as non-realistic constellations of the Greek *oikos* (Lissarrague 1990: 35–53). Wolfgang Ehrhardt analyses the Alexander mosaic from Pompeii as a purely fictitious depiction of the historical battle between Alexander and Darius III (Ehrhardt 2008).

Of course, one can only agree with these approaches: they have led to important insights into the social meaning and cultural significance of Greek and Roman art. The following reflections are by no means meant to contradict such positions. Nevertheless, there is a fundamental problem. For the Greeks themselves conceived art as a practice of *mimēsis*, imitation (Pollitt 1974: 37–41, 46–8; for *mimēsis* in Greek art, see Stewart 1990: 73–85). Thus, the title of this chapter, quoting Socrates’ initial question in his discussion with the painter Parrhasios, as it is reported in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*, literally anticipates an obvious answer: yes, painting is a representation of visible things, that is, of their visible appearance (Xen. *Mem.* III, 10, 1; Preisshofen 1974). Therefore, the scope of this chapter is to reconcile the emic with the etic view, that is, our constructivist approach to ancient art with the definition of art in antiquity. It is with great admiration for Anthony Snodgrass and his pioneering work on early Greek art that I submit these considerations for his critical examination.

Of course, the Greeks were always aware of the fact that images were not identical doubles of ‘real’ beings or objects but artificial re-presentations,

made in various materials, and they realised that this implied a specific 'artistic' activity, employing technical skill (the most penetrating analysis: Neer 2013: 1–19, to which I cannot do justice in this place). In this sense, the term *mimēsis* covers a certain spectrum from copy to re-creation and re-enactment. Nevertheless, stress is laid not on creativity but on imitation, not on difference but on similarity or congruity between reality and art. In later discourses on art, terms like *aletheia/veritas* and *similitudo* testify to the same basic categories of art. All these terms indicate not production but re-production (Pollitt 1974: 170–87).

At the basis of our modern problems with these terms is a specific antithesis between 'reality' and art. Reality is conceived as an 'objective' material world of beings and objects, as it is physiologically perceived by the human senses, measurable in space and time, underlying physical and chemical processes of cause and effect, without any additional meaning, while art is conceived as a realm of visual objects and images of cultural significance and meaning. Starting from these notions, reality and art are thought of as opposing realms: genuine art transcends reality.

Yet, this is *our* 'modern' understanding of reality and realism: the physical world of objects and beings, 'objectively' documented without the distortions of human construction of meaning. The concept of objectivity, in the sense of measuring and reproducing reality in its contingent material form, originated in the nineteenth century, supplanting older concepts of perception and reproduction that aimed at recognising and representing 'reality' in its normative forms (Daston and Galison 2007). On these modern premises, Greek art is measured in relation to a concept of objective reality, exposed to objective perception and requiring objective reproduction – to which it does *not* correspond. This procedure is not illegitimate as long as it is consciously and explicitly meant as a view 'from outside', confronting our own concept of reality with that of historical cultural systems: in this sense it helps to create an awareness of basic aspects that separate these cultures from our own concepts. Normally, however, such diagnoses of un-realistic construction presuppose a universal concept of 'reality' which is transcended more or less intentionally by those images. This kind of argument leads to the above-mentioned contradictions with the notion of *mimēsis*. Moreover, it is evident that establishing deviations from *our* concept of reality means stopping halfway because it keeps *ex negativo* within the horizon of our own categories. The vital question – the only one that may extend the horizon of our own preconceptions – should focus on those strange Greek concepts of reality, perception and 'mimetic' image-making that are at the basis of Greek images.

In principle, this question concerns two different realms of art: themes and forms. Both realms require different theoretical concepts. Nevertheless, in the end the question of their interrelation will arise. In this first attempt the focus is on themes.

The following considerations are aimed at demonstrating the fundamentally mimetic character of Greek art: Greek images are in principle not intentional constructions of contents that transcend reality. Their 'sense' is

emphatically contained *in* and expressed *by* their intentional reference to reality: they are 're-presentations' of 'conceptual realities'. This argument will be developed in four steps, looking at representations of fighting:

First, it will be argued that the underlying antithesis of 'mere' contingent reality as an object of 'realistic' visual perception and reproduction, on the one hand, and aesthetic representation by an 'image' that confers to this reality some visual meaning, on the other, appears to be problematic. For not only the image but also the 'reality' represented by it is a cultural construct. On these premises the interrelation between the image and its subject changes in an essential way.

Secondly, it will be asked, looking at some concrete examples, by which procedure images of 'real' events, persons and objects are produced. Thereby it will be argued that the representation of 'reality' and the construction of 'significance' are so intimately connected that they cannot be conceived as antithetical practices.

Thirdly, it will be argued that two characteristic themes of Greek art, naked bodies and battle scenes, both of which are traditionally considered examples of idealising transformations of reality, are in fact deeply related to concrete social 'realities'. In this sense the term 'conceptual realism' will be proposed.

Finally, some specific motifs of battle depictions are taken into account: objects of material culture and 'participating' beings that transcend the reality of concrete perception but are to be understood as real representatives of the conceptual order of the world.

Reality versus art?

The problems with the antithesis of 'mere' reality and 'meaningful' art can be demonstrated by a photograph of Giorgio de Chirico (Fig. 11.1; Hölscher and Lauter 1995: 11–13). It depicts the artist in a distinguished interior, furnished with works of Classical art. Cardigan and cravat are signs of an artist's garb and of social ambitions. He presents himself, with his heavy upright body and his hand propped on his hip, in a self-conscious pose, his head decidedly turned to his right, and his eyes intently focused on a far horizon.

The newspaper where this photo was published gives in its caption the following explanation: 'His ruler-like pose and his gaze into the distance are not staged for this birthday photograph, they have become, after decades of polemical distance from the present, the painter's second nature'. His physical habitus, clothing and surroundings are manifestations of his social and cultural ambition; his natural posture has become a significant pose. This stylised reality intentionally reflects the famous work of art, the bust of the Apollo Belvedere, which shows a similar gaze into the distance. In this context the painter himself becomes a living image, similar to the ancient portrait statue of the tragedian Sophocles who demonstrates by the same physical habitus his claim to normative significance.

Figure 11.1 *Giorgio de Chirico. Photo: Courtesy Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and Horst Tappe.*

Is this a view of a real person in his real living space – or is it a picture? Indeed, all motifs in this photograph are consciously arranged into a highly complex configuration of a living person, a work of art, and various objects constituting 'his' space. What we see is a picture that represents a man in the pose of an image, compared to an image in the picture. But behind this picture there is a real man who is very conscious of his visual appearance and who styles his appearance into an 'image'. This reciprocal amalgamation between a real appearance and an artistic creation elucidates in a pointed way the general interplay between what is termed an 'image' on the stage of social life and in the figural arts; or, more precisely: between an image, conveying significance to reality, and reality, stylised into a significant image.

Similar phenomena are to be observed in antiquity. Politicians and monarchs, such as Pericles and Alexander the Great, Caius Marius and Augustus, are reported to have styled their real appearance in a significant way, as a visual expression of their intended public 'role', corresponding to their public portrait statues which expressed these same qualities in their specific material medium (Hölscher and Lauter 1995; Hölscher 2009: 26–32).

These observations can be generalised. Every individual shapes himself or herself into a kind of significant appearance: through hairstyle and beard, dress, jewels and cosmetics, and moreover through facial expressions, gestures, attitudes, movements and actions. These are visual manifestations of social roles and of cultural identity. Man is his own image. De Chirico is an example of highly conscious self-stylisation, but the same

applies to all social levels: whether we dress well or sloppily, move in a disciplined or uncontrolled way, look grim or serene, we always say something about ourselves.

From individual persons one can proceed to scenes of interaction and interpersonal situations. As an example one may look at one of the most frequent scenes in Greek vase painting, Archaic as well as Classical: the departure of a warrior from his family for a war campaign (Lissarrague 1990: 35–53; Spiess 1992). The young man, in more or less complete armour, mostly faces a woman, either his mother or his wife; in addition, there often appears his old father, rarely some other member of the family. In Classical times they are usually performing a farewell libation, the woman pouring wine into the bowl held by the departing warrior. The atmosphere is earnest and full of sadness, all of them visualising the young man's possible death and the ensuing destruction of the hopes for the family's future.

Obviously, these scenes are consciously constructed situations. On a famous red-figure *stamnos* the figures are united in a composition of archetypal antithetical constellations: the young man and his wife, framed by his parents: the old father standing behind the woman, the mother at his own back (Fig. 11.2; Simon and Hirmer 1976: pl. 205–7). Thus, the typical representatives of a Greek family are set into a systematic order of interrelations: man and woman represent the antithesis of gender and at

Figure 11.2 *Departure of a warrior. Red-figure* stamnos. *München, Antikensammlungen. M. Tiverios,* Ellenike Techne *(Athenai 1996) pin. 160.*

the same time of the realms of house and war, inside and outside. Son and father stand for the antithesis of generations and at the same time of vigorous activity and dignified wisdom. Mother and wife denote the two forms of family ties, birth and marriage. Among these intersecting oppositions the constellation of warrior and wife is given priority.

Nevertheless, this is not to be understood as a case of a merely factual departure scene of real life which only in art is transformed into a systematic concept of an ancient *oikos*. For real departures too were in antiquity, and are to this day, realised in specific forms through which the community of those who separate constitutes its inner coherence. Thus Alcestis, in Euripides' tragedy, takes leave from her world, her *Lebenswelt*, in a very conscious sequence of farewell (vv. 189–212). First, she performs the last libations at the palace's altars, then she separates from her marital bed; thereafter she bids farewell to her children and to the servants; then she speaks to her parents-in-law who refused to sacrifice themselves instead of her – and finally she turns to her husband Admetus. This sequence in time of different farewells emphasises a hierarchy of relations between Alcestis and her social environment comparable to the special constellation of the *oikos* as it is depicted in the vase painting. In other images the warrior could be represented facing his father, as the young man might have bidden his last farewell in real life to the father of the family. Thereby, too, the family is represented in a significant configuration. While the playwright describes priority of farewell in an ascending sequence in time, the vase painters depict it through the constellation of figures in space.

This is comprehensible up to the present day. When we take leave for some extended absence, we consciously choose whom we want to be with us: our nearest friends, our family. And we bid farewell to them in a significant sequence: last to the children and to the marital partner, if possible alone. Thus, in real life too farewells are to a high degree conceived and shaped as conceptual performances. If we look at their visual aspects, they appear as sequences of meaningful 'images'. It is this 'conceptual reality' that is re-presented in art.

In this sense, the whole horizon of the *Lebenswelt*, as it is defined by Alfred Schütz and Thomas Luckmann (1973), can be seen and interpreted as a spectrum of visual manifestations of *meaning*, that is, as 'images'. It contains on the one hand the wide range of social actions: intentionally shaped performances, such as rituals and ceremonies; traditional forms of behaviour, such as orders of assemblies and symposia, forms of military combat, jurisdiction and table manners; finally, purely functional and uncontrolled activities, such as visiting the agora or working in workshops. On the other hand it comprises the material surroundings: intentionally shaped urban *Stadtbilder*, with civic and sacred architecture, conditioning human activity and behaviour and expressing visual meaning; objects of daily use, such as vessels, furniture and tools, charged with social value; and natural surroundings, such as mountains and the sea, groves and fountains, which are perceived as meaningful elements of life. In antiquity, these were never, nor are they today, purely material components of 'reality'.

Applying these considerations to the problem of *mimēsis* and construction in art, some conclusions impose themselves:

- To conceive images representing motives of the *Lebenswelt* as constructions that inform themes of (neutral) 'reality' with 'significance' means to assume a problematical interrelation between reality and art. No doubt, images transform the 'reality' of the *Lebenswelt* on the basis of their working materials, according to collective rules of style, expressing specific concerns and messages of their authors, artist or patron, and responding to anticipated expectations of their audiences. However, the real *Lebenswelt* itself is not only a pre-given neutral material object: it too is a cultural construct with marked visual aspects conveying the visual significance of beings, objects and the surrounding nature.
- The attribution of visual significance to beings, objects and the elements of the *Lebenswelt* is on the one hand achieved through culturally informed perception: we focus on such aspects of reality as are significant to us; on the other hand it is achieved through more or less intentional shaping (Schütz and Luckmann 1973). Both activities are accomplished in the frame of established social and cultural practice. Living as a cultural being in one's *Lebenswelt* always means orienting oneself in a conceptually interpreted and shaped, meaningful reality.
- The visual aspects of the conceptually experienced *Lebenswelt* merge into a meaningful image. This 'image character' of the *Lebenswelt* can be determined according to how far the visual forms of beings, objects and elements of real life are shaped or perceived as carriers of visual meaning. Conversely, the visual representation of beings, objects and elements of nature in material media – if it is not a mere mechanical reproduction, generated fortuitously and without any intention – can be termed an 'image' in so far as it conveys visual meaning.
- It is this interpreted, meaningful reality that is the subject of 'realistic' art. Images translate and transform phenomena of the *Lebenswelt*, that are charged with meaning in their real appearance, into other material media through specific techniques and methods of 'artistic' shaping, reaching from conceptual reproduction to more or less strong transformation. In antiquity, there seems to have prevailed, at least in general, a more or less strong coincidence in the meaning of themes in reality and in art.
- Images and the *Lebenswelt* of beings, objects and elements of nature are two parallel 'media' in and by which, through interpreting perception and intentional shaping, conceptual meanings are generated. This does *not* imply any identity between reality and image: rather, meaning is produced in both 'media' according to their specific potential of shaping. Yet there is no hierarchy between 'reality' and art in creating visual meaning.
- On these premises the notion of *mimēsis* becomes understandable in a concrete sense. Art does not supply neutral reality with additional meaning but translates and transforms meaning into meaning.

- From this it follows that an image that, by its forms of representation, expresses some significance and meaning of its topic is not thereby in opposition to 'reality', as is often argued.

Representing and understanding

The themes of images are, as a rule, not precisely pre-given in reality. In ancient Greece, the most frequent task of artists was representations of gods and heroes and depictions of myths. However, nobody had ever encountered Athena or Heracles, nor had anybody witnessed, for example, the murder of Troilus by Achilles or the capture of Troy with the assault of Ajax on Cassandra. There were texts – which, however, did not provide any sufficient evidence of the visual impact of such figures or scenes. For themes of contemporary life, such as fighting in war, rituals of sacrifice or training in the *palaistra*, artists could acquire direct visual experience, but this was a perception of innumerable different motifs of moving, acting and interacting individuals, not yet crystallised into an image. How was *mimēsis* put into practice under these conditions?

An artist, whatever subject he or she was going to represent, and whatever precise information he or she had about it, had *necessarily* to invent or to choose the concrete form of depiction. This 'compulsion to concretion' is a basic condition of artistic work. It works in representations of general as well as of specific themes (Hölscher 1973: 14–15).

Some simple examples

First, a general theme: a Greek warrior defeating a Persian foe. This topic is not at all an unequivocal prescription for visual 'reproduction' in vase painting (Fig. 11.3 Muth 2008: 239–67). The artist, intending to produce a 'realistic' depiction, may be acquainted with the forms of Greek armour and even with the types of Persian dress, trousers and sleeved jackets, made of multicoloured textiles. But no source or 'information' told him whether the Greek aggressor comes from the right or the left, whether he uses his lance or his sword, whether he slashes from above or stabs from below, whether his adversary opposes him or turns to flee, whether he is still on foot or falling to his knees, on his right or left knee, and so forth. The artist, forced to give his depiction a concrete form, has to decide on the whole composition as well as on every detail. These, however, are the features that convey to the depiction its visual impact.

Secondly, a specific event: the famous assassination attempt on the Athenian tyrants Hippias and Hipparchos by a couple of homoerotic friends, Aristogeiton and Harmodios, at the Panathenaic festival of 514 BC (Fig. 11.4 Simon 1975: pl. 42). The vase painter, intending to depict this event some forty years later, must have known that the assassins attacked and killed the younger brother in the agora with their swords, which they had hidden in a bunch of myrtle branches. This, however, was

Figure 11.3 *Greeks fighting Persians. Red-figure cup. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. S. Muth,* Gewalt im Bild *(Berlin 2008), Abb. 163.*

Figure 11.4 *Aristogeiton and Harmodios assassinating Hipparchos. Red-figure* stamnos. *Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum.*

totally insufficient for producing an image, since for this purpose he had to decide whether the assassins attack from one side or from both, how they put their weapons into action, whether their victim defends himself or flees, begging for mercy or breaking down, holding onto his staff or dropping it; not to speak of more subtle details: whether the aggressors advance vigorously or cautiously, whether their clothes cover their body completely or leave them in part visible, how the folds are arranged; and so forth. Nobody could tell how all this had happened 'in reality' – but the vase painter had to produce a concrete depiction in all details. Thus, he decided to depict this event as it *could have* happened – *and* at the same time corresponding to some idea of the political, social or ethical values inherent in this exploit: he represents the assassins' mutual devotion as a homoerotic couple by their appearance as an older man and a youth, emphasises their unanimous solidarity by their coordinated advance from both sides, while their victim, holding his staff without using it to defend himself, vaguely implores his murderer, looking back towards the other assailant. Furthermore, the vase painter distinguishes the impetuous character of the younger Harmodios, who brandishes his sword over his head and thus exposes his body, from the fierce determination of the older Aristogeiton, who stabs his sword into his victim's breast. The painter foregoes the myrtle branches, thus minimising the cunning of the two men and stressing their courageous character. More politically, he characterises the tyrant by his lavish hairstyle and elaborate long dress, in contrast to his opponents' simple 'democratic' haircuts and shorter clothes. All this is the painter's decision in the inevitable act of producing a concrete and, in its concreteness, meaningful image. Nevertheless, he produces in all respects an image of the real event.

This, however, has its consequences for how to understand this scene. Regarding the factual event, the viewer could gather from the vase painting the assassination as such but not the details of specific motions, actions, gestures and attitudes in specific moments. These, however, are not only imaginations of how the event could have happened concretely, but moreover, in their concrete appearance, also suggestions about the event's intended meaning.

From such simple examples we may proceed to some more complex compositions which have caused controversies of interpretation.

The Alexander mosaic

First, a well-known representation of an 'historical' subject: the Alexander mosaic from Pompeii, universally acknowledged as a more or less faithful copy of an early Hellenistic painting, depicting a battle between Alexander the Great and Darius III with their armies (Fig. 11.5 Hölscher 1973: 122–69; Andreae 1977; Stewart 1993: 130–50; Cohen 1997; Pfrommer 1998; Stähler 1999; Moreno 2001; Ehrhardt 2008). This masterpiece of Greek painting was for long valued as the epitome of artistic 'realism', whereas recently it has been reinterpreted as an aesthetic construct far from any

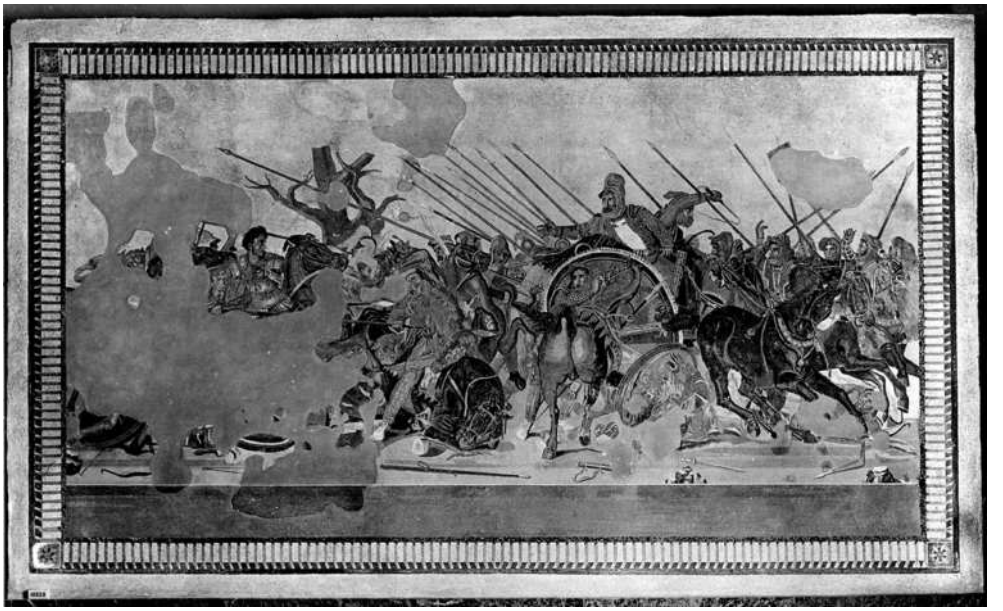

Figure 11.5 *Alexander's battle against Dareios III. Mosaic from Pompeii. Napoli, Museo Nazionale. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom.*

historical reality. Its main subject, Alexander at the head of his cavalry rushing headlong into the centre of the Persian army, attacking the Great King who turns in flight on his huge chariot, is claimed to have nothing to do with any specific battle. It is argued, on the one hand, that the composition is shaped by figurative strategies that are also used for other subjects, and on the other hand that it serves ideological messages about the roles of the royal protagonists that lead far beyond the reality of any specific event. Thus, although the mosaic/painting may intend to represent the battle of Gaugamela in 331 BC, the composition is held to depict not a real military encounter but an imagined war, a *Krieg im Kopf*: 'pure fiction'.

Yet how could the 'reality' of any battle between Alexander and Darius be depicted? More than two hundred thousand Persians against some forty thousand Greeks? All of them in their 'real' armour? In their specific spatial motions of military units and in their 'real' individual attitudes of fighting and falling, pursuing and fleeing? As they appeared in the same 'real' moment? Of course, this concept of 'realism' is absolutely excluded, first because this kind of mass panorama exceeds the possibilities of an image, secondly because no witness had the knowledge or memory of hundreds of thousands of individual actions. This is a banality – but it is precisely this concept of 'realism' that is implied in diagnoses of a 'non-realistic' construction of images: visual depictions present intentionally cut-out details, they concentrate actions in space and time within the frame of an image, they represent motions and attitudes, bodies and equipment as an imagined reality, according to the artist's general knowledge of 'reality' and to established

models of representing it. What else can an artist do, even if he or she aims at a depiction as realistic as possible?

The event depicted in the mosaic is highly complex. Alexander with his entourage has forcefully advanced near to Darius. At the last moment two Persian noblemen on horseback throw themselves into Alexander's path, one of them being transfixed by Alexander's lance and crashing down on his horse. Another Persian is trying to control a wildly rearing horse, obviously intending to enable his king to flee. In the background a Greek detachment is encircling the Persian centre with their lances on their shoulders. At the last moment, however, the royal charioteer drives his team aggressively out of the turmoil, disregarding his own men who are crushed by the chariot's nailed wheels and trampled by the horses' hoofs.

The mosaic composition is to a high degree conceptually designed. The scene chosen does not describe the entire battle but concentrates on the encounter of the two royal protagonists. These are characterised as great political and ethical opponents: Alexander rushing impetuously forward at the head of his army, Darius vaguely turning backwards and forwards; Alexander aiming his lance for a deadly blow, Darius having spent all of his arrows, holding his useless bow; Alexander being integrated with his troops, at the same level, a *primus inter pares*, Darius towering on his huge chariot high above his men, an absolute monarch. The armies also are depicted in marked opposition: the Macedonian cavalry advancing from the left in a compact cuneiform formation, while the detachment in the background performs a disciplined manoeuvre; the Persians disorganised, with some courageous noblemen sacrificing themselves desperately for their king, whereas the majority appears paralysed with fear, without visible armour, while others are brutally run over by the king's chariot.

These messages are presented with great visual effect through the painting's composition. The protagonists are brought together as near as possible without involving them in direct combat (which in fact never happened). All actions are fused in one coherent moment. Many characters are depicted in established schemes of motion and attitude, which are also adopted in art in other contexts: the assaulting heroic rider, the collapsing horseman, the energetic horse-tamer, the fleeing king on his chariot.

Yet – does the image thereby become a pure construct, a *Schlacht im Kopf* that has nothing to do with reality? A kind of 'fiction' (Ehrhardt 2008)? Clearly, this is no photograph. If one scholar recently tried to determine from the oblique shadows thrown by the figures the precise time of day the battle (of Gaugamela) was fought (Moreno 2001: 15–18), this is of course a grotesque projection of a concept of art as factual 'documentation'. Nobody will infer from the mosaic that Alexander came to within four metres of the king's chariot, that Darius in the same moment extended his arm in despair, that Alexander speared his opponent rendering his lance unusable, and that at the same time the royal mount went wild. All these motives are 'concretisations' of the event in the sense of 'possible reality', without any claim to historical authenticity. For the same reason, however, they can by no means be adduced as arguments against a possible reference to a specific historical

battle. They are just indispensable devices for achieving concrete vividness. And they serve to convey to the depiction the strong significance and powerful impact on the viewer. Obviously, this is no offence against authenticity, and even less against 'reality'.

The depicted battle is full of meaning, political, ideological, cultural. But the *real* battle too is not an objective event of meaningless factuality: it too is thoroughly imbued with, and visually shaped by, its ideological and cultural 'significance'. In fact, Alexander conceptualised his major battles against the Persians as a personal *agon* between himself and the Great King – and according to this concept he conceived his real battle tactics. At Issos as at Gaugamela he actually aimed to defeat the enemy king personally, advancing indeed near to his chariot – yet in the end he could only put Darius to flight. To achieve this, Alexander used in fact to put himself at the head of his elite cavalry, imitating the heroes of myth who acted as the protagonists of their armies, unlike generals of his time who commanded their troops from afar. In the same sense, the painting emphasises the antithesis of royal weapons, which corresponds on the one hand to reality but at the same time to an old ideological topos: Alexander's lance as a symbol of Greek courage, direct fighting 'hand to hand', and Darius' bow as a sign of insidious and cowardly fighting from a distance, characteristic in particular of eastern 'barbarians'.

Similarly the *real* opposing armies were charged with ideological concepts. The compact discipline of Greek troops was stamped by, and glorified as, an ethos of mutual coherence, whereas the Persian troops were said to be weakened by cowardice and effeminacy, submission to a despot, at best disposed to useless self-sacrifice. Of course, there were many stereotypes and clichés at work, but these were conceptual patterns according to which reality was perceived, understood – and to some degree even actively shaped: in the modes of fighting and in many other kinds of cultural practice. The roles and behavioural patterns of social actors unfold in visible forms. In this sense, the real battle, too, was a 'picture'.

In this respect, the antithesis of the 'real' battle in 'real' life on the one hand and the 'fictional' battle *im Kopf* turns out to be of limited relevance. The 'real' battle, too, takes place *im Kopf*. There is no reason why the Alexander mosaic should not represent a specific battle, say that at Gaugamela, as a 'conceptual reality'.

Of course, the 'picture-like' battle of real life and the depicted battle of art are far from identical: in real battles people are really put to death. Yet both battles are imbued with meaning, and this meaning comes to the fore in the 'real' appearance of beings, objects and actions. The physical world of bodies and objects on the one hand and the depicted world of art are two media with their specific conditions and possibilities, technical and social practices, modes of acting and perceiving. There is no question – and what has been said should by no means be understood as contradicting this – that in many respects art disposes of wider possibilities of reproducing 'conceptual reality'. But there is no antithesis of 'realism' and 'construction of meaning'.

Battles in vase painting

Still more complex, and more revealing, are anonymous scenes of military combat in Archaic vase painting (Fig. 11.6 Knittlmeyer 1997: 46–79; Muth 2008: 142–238). They are usually seen as idealising transgressions of reality. Normally, multiple battle scenes are represented as sequences of individual fighting: mostly duels of two opponents, often contending over the body of a fallen warrior, at most supported by one or two companions. From literary sources, however, we know that in Archaic times battles were fought in more or less compact formations. Correspondingly, there is, besides the innumerable duel compositions in Greek art, a limited number of Archaic vase paintings and Classical relief friezes depicting closed battle formations opposing each other (Fig. 11.7). Thus, Greek art was indeed able to represent the contemporary way of collective fighting. All the more striking is the fact that artists so rarely made use of this possibility. Is this a deviation from 'reality'? And if so, why are there those utterly divergent modes of representation?

Explanations for this alleged deviation of art from the 'real' practice of fighting are not lacking. Mostly scenes of individual fighting in duels or small groups of hoplites are interpreted as retrospective references to Homeric ideals of heroic warfare. Indeed, as is well known, Homer's heroes prove their *aretē* in individual fighting against individual opponents. In this

Figure 11.6 *Battle of hoplites. Black-figure* exaleiptron. *Paris, Louvre. E. Simon, M. Hirmer,* Die griechischen Vasen *(München 1976) Taf. 58.*

Figure 11.7 *Hoplite phalanxes. Corinthian* olpe. *Rome, Villa Giulia.* E. Simon, M. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* (München 1976) *Taf. VII.*

view the whole sphere of war would be, through all periods of Greek history, pervaded by a deeply retrospective, idealising and heroising attitude regarding the practice of war, removing from reality this omnipresent sphere of actual life (Ellinghaus 1997). Before accepting such contradictions, one may ask whether the concept of individual duels, as it is represented in art, was in fact so far from the reality of Archaic and Classical warfare.

This question can only be approached by distinguishing three levels: the reality of battle tactics, the experience of the reality of battles, and their representation in art.

Regarding real warfare, it is impossible to discuss in this place the manifold controversial questions of the so-called phalanx: whether it existed from early times or was introduced in some later period, and when precisely, how it was put into action, in what kind of cooperation, by what use of armour and weapons, and so forth (for a summary, see Rawlings 2013: 18–24). Without any doubt, however, at the time when closed lines of hoplites were depicted on vases, real armies were drawn up and led into the battle in more or less compact formations. As has often been stressed, this kind of packed battle tactics was not a fortuitous military technique, but was deeply rooted in the social structures of this period. Its foundation was the middle class of peasants who formed the (more or less) 'civic' army, developing in battle some collective coherence among themselves, protecting and standing up for each other.

To what degree and in which concrete forms these tactics of collective fighting were realised in actual warfare is difficult to say. What is clear, however, is the fact that this was a conceptual attitude that had a strong impact on the notion and experience of war. For military coherence was intimately connected to a general ideal of civic equality, *homoiotes*, that prevailed among the middle classes as a political claim for full recognition within the citizen body. It is this aspect of war practice that comes to the fore in the collective scenes of hoplite fighting (Cartledge 1977; Spahn 1977; Snodgrass 1993; Lendon 2005).

Yet why, then, is there such a predominance of individual fighting in the majority of battle scenes? If it is right to assume that Greek armies indeed advanced into the battle with a strong tactical and ethical coherence, it is equally evident that this attitude must have been eclipsed and more or less dissolved as soon as the lines of battle were at close quarters. There were no overarching strategies and tactics, no interplay of different military units, no collective movements and actions. Basically, every warrior came to stand face to face with one or very few opposing warriors, being at most supported by some of his neighbours. This situation must have been massively enhanced by the 'Corinthian' helmets, limiting the gaze to the immediate opponent by their small eye-slots, and reducing acoustics to the noise of the immediate vicinity (Hanson 1989; Lendon 2005). Thus, the collective body of the army must have basically disintegrated, becoming a mass of individual fighters. This change is precisely described on the Macmillan *aryballos*: first, at the left, there appear two closed battle lines; then, towards the right, fighting is displayed in individual duels, face to face (Fig. 11.8).

As a result, war was obviously conceived of and experienced as a practice of manly valour in which the immediate encounter of hoplites and the capacity of fighting man to man were all-important. Tyrtaeus, the great poetic whip of Spartan fighting ethics, is very precise about this: first, warriors should advance in closed formation, 'side by side', protecting their following companions – but then they are spurred on to face their immediate opponent, 'foot against foot, shield against shield, helmet against

Figure 11.8 *Battle of hoplites. Proto-Corinthian Macmillan* aryballos. *London, British Museum.* Journal of Hellenic Studies *10 (1889) pl. V.*

helmet, crest against crest, chest against chest, each man with sword in hand or far-injuring spear' (Tyrtaeus fr. 11, 29–34 West). The collective and the individual complement each other – but in the end single combat is the more exciting experience. This, therefore, is also the mental sphere where the predominant social values are developed: social recognition is founded on individual valour and achievements, in war as in other realms of life (Stewart 1997: 89–92; 2014: 227–32; see also Hölscher 1973: 28–30; 2003b: 4–6; Knittlmeyer 1997: 67–71; Shanks 1999: 107–19).

It is this aspect that is experienced in real warfare and is represented in art. The experience, however, as well as the representation is based on a specific practice of real fighting which resulted in the predominant role of duel combats. In this sense, the depiction of battle scenes in the form of duel or group fighting is no intentional deviation from the contemporary reality of warfare, no retrospective stylisation according to Homeric models, no anachronistic idealisation or heroisation following the major characters of myth, but an emphatic representation of vital experiences made in the contemporary reality of war.

Nudity

Among the most significant devices of Greek art, often quoted as the most obvious proof of its non-realistic character, is male nudity. As is well known, male figures were depicted in Greek art in various contexts with naked bodies. This conforms to the real appearance of young men in the realm of athletics, who appeared with naked body while training in the *palaistra* or competing in games in the big sanctuaries. But in other sectors of life, such as warfare or hunting, the depiction of naked bodies is in plain contradiction to the practice in real life. Not to speak of the irritating portrait statues of individual persons with naked bodies in the agora or in public sanctuaries.

The traditional understanding of male nudity as a sign of 'ideal' or 'heroic' character, elevating those represented beyond their real human appearance to 'ideal' significance, seems to be losing acceptance (Himmelmann 1990; Stewart 1997: 24–42; Hölscher 2003a; Daehner 2005; Hurwit 2007). While this interpretation could seem plausible regarding images of gods and mythical heroes, and even for representations of famous men like Alexander the Great or virtuous warriors, to whom in this way hero-like qualities might be ascribed, it is contradicted by naked bodies in other contexts where intentions of idealisation or heroisation are out of the question: defeated foes on battle friezes and grave reliefs, revelling youths after the symposion, working craftsmen in their workshops, slaves, and so forth.

An even-handed approach to this artistic device has to start from the fundamental significance of the body in Greek culture. A few remarks must suffice in this context. Greek culture, which can be defined as a 'culture of immediate action', was to a very high degree founded on the human body. Whatever human beings did, achieved and suffered, they did, in the Greek view, primarily with and through their bodies.

Training the body in the *palaistra* for achieving strength and beauty was the primary goal of Greek education; rituals of transition to adulthood and citizenship were accomplished by the public unveiling of the body for examination. Social recognition and success depended above all on the impact of a person's public performance and outward appearance. Political issues were negotiated by all citizens in bodily presence. For hunting, notoriously a central activity of male valour, Plato prefers 'direct' physical fighting against wild beasts, with lance and sword, to technical devices with nets and traps (*Laws* 823b–824c). In this general sense, the valorous male body was considered the essential factor in warfare. Thus, when Agesilaos and his Spartans were once confronted with a far-outnumbering Persian army and his men began to despair, he ordered that some Persian captives be presented naked to them, uncovering their pale bodies which had never been trained in a Greek *palaistra* – whereupon the Greeks reported an overwhelming victory in the following battle (Xen. *Hell.* II.4.20).

These nude bodies were presented in scenes of figurative art as factors of Greek valour in war, whereas other figures were depicted with cuirasses, demonstrating the military and social value of elaborate hoplite armour. Both modes of representation, nudity and armour, are situated on the same level of 'reality'. On the other hand, it is equally through nude bodies that the suffering and death of defeated enemies, the effort of working craftsmen or the ignoble nature of slaves can be depicted. Regarding the question of realism, the crucial fact is that these are the *real* bodies of these characters: it is the concrete body of the warrior that is considered essential for his military valour and success, the real body of his opponent that is experiencing defeat, of the craftsman that is performing hard labour, of the slave that is held to show his inferior nature and his burdensome life. Thus, there is no idealisation, no heroisation, no elevation above 'mere' reality. To qualify such representations as non-realistic is only justified if surface visibility is made the decisive criterion of 'reality'. There are, however, plausible reasons for dismissing this criterion in favour of a notion of reality that comprehends those elements that are held essential notwithstanding the circumstance that they are in fact hidden from view by clothes or armour. In this sense, nudity in battle scenes can be conceived as even more realistic than the covered bodies that correspond to surface perception.

Armour and equipment

The main elements of armour and other kinds of equipment, as represented in art, conform more or less, taking into account some stylisations of rendering, to contemporary material culture. There are, however, some exceptions which deserve further comment. One of them, a favourite theme of Anthony Snodgrass, is the oblong 'Boeotian' shield which seems to have been out of use in the sixth century BC (notwithstanding Boardman 1983: 29–32) when it appears abundantly in scenes of fighting, mythological as

well as anonymous. Whether or not this type of armour is derived from the 'Dipylon' shield on eighth-century BC vases (in my view still a plausible explanation), it seems in any case to have conveyed some grandeur to its bearers. Accepting this derivation, two possible explanations have been proposed for the anonymous scenes: either they intend to represent events from myth, without making explicit identifications; or they depict 'daily life' scenes in a kind of retrospective idealisation, conveying to them a general 'heroic' or 'Homeric' flavour (critical assessment: Snodgrass 1980: 56–7; Knittlmeyer 1997: 61–3).

Yet the fundamental question is whether in this early period objects of material culture were regarded at all with a 'historical' eye, understanding their different forms as variations in time, and assigning them to specific periods of the past and the present. Thucydides' famous conclusion from the grave finds on Delos about the provenance of the ancient inhabitants of the island from Caria (book I.8) has always been praised as a revolutionary step of fifth-century BC historical thinking. Projecting this into the Archaic period seems to be a questionable procedure. Indeed, whether such shields, or their typological predecessors, had once really existed or not, they must have appeared to be an actual potential reality, and no concept of historical thinking will have imposed on the viewer the idea that this was an object that belonged, or referred, to a bygone 'heroic' past (see Giuliani 2010).

Similar considerations may explain the appearance of war chariots with warriors appearing in anonymous battle scenes (Greenhalgh 1973: 61–2, 90, 119; Knittlmeyer 1997: 63–4; Manakidou 1994: pl. 10, 1). In Homer the heroes use their chariots for riding onto the battlefield where they then fight on foot. The assumption that in sixth-century BC hoplite battles some noble warriors fought standing on their chariot seems to lead to an impasse: fighting on war chariots cannot have been in use at the time of hoplite formations. Again, however, the conclusion that this is an element of retrospective 'Homeric' idealisation seems to be problematic: as in the case of 'Boeotian' shields, there is no reason for attributing to this period, without further discussion, a concept of seeing material culture in the dimensions of 'historical' time. In the past, chariots had been used in the context of war; in present days, chariots were used not only by contenders in chariot-races but also by noble aristocrats in religious processions to distant sanctuaries (and why not also for reaching the battlefield?). In any case, this motif is better understood, not as a transgression *beyond*, but as an extension *of* reality – with no specific reference to the past but on the basis of present social practice, without considering the possibility of 'historical' changes (Boardman 1983: 28–9; Giuliani 2010: 38–40).

Another phenomenon that transcends the material reality of warfare is those figurative devices that adorn the warriors' shields (Fig. 11.9): the Gorgon and similar monsters, lions, rams, snakes and other frightening beasts, and so forth. In real war practice, such devices were fixed as flat material attachments to the shield's surface – but conceptually they were imbued with some actual power: thus, one could speak of them as of living

Figure 11.9 *Hoplite with shield design. Black-figure amphora. Boulogne-sur-Seine, private collection. H. Mommsen,* Der Affecter *(Mainz 1975) Taf. 111 above.*

beings. And this aliveness was given an impressive expression in art. Often, flat shield devices turn in the direction of the warrior's opponent, intensifying the assault of their 'master'; in such cases depictions remain on the level of what is materially possible. Sometimes, however, such creatures turn, in corporeal aliveness, towards 'their' enemies. Snakes, in particular, transcend all possible forms of material attachments to real shields. Considering the potential life and power that are attributed to real shield devices, it becomes evident that the qualification of this mode of representation as unrealistic would be misleading: it is a kind of ultra-realism by which these devices are given the vital power that is attributed to them in 'real' life (Grabow 1998: 170–92; Philipp 2004: 62–157; Hölscher 2014: 170–1).

Observers of battles: human beings and gods, wild animals and monsters

As is well known, fighting scenes are often framed by beings that in real life cannot have been immediately present at these events (Fig.11.10). Most frequent are human observers, male as well as female, in 'civic' attire, looking at and reacting to the encounters of warriors. Of course, these are no 'realities' at the edge of the battlefield: they are representatives of the families and the citizen body, mothers, sisters and wives, fathers, brothers, friends and fellow citizens, conceptually participating in the destinies of those who risk their lives for them, testifying to the social importance of the event, and conveying honour to the combatants. Together with them they appear in antithetical constellations: war versus home, male versus

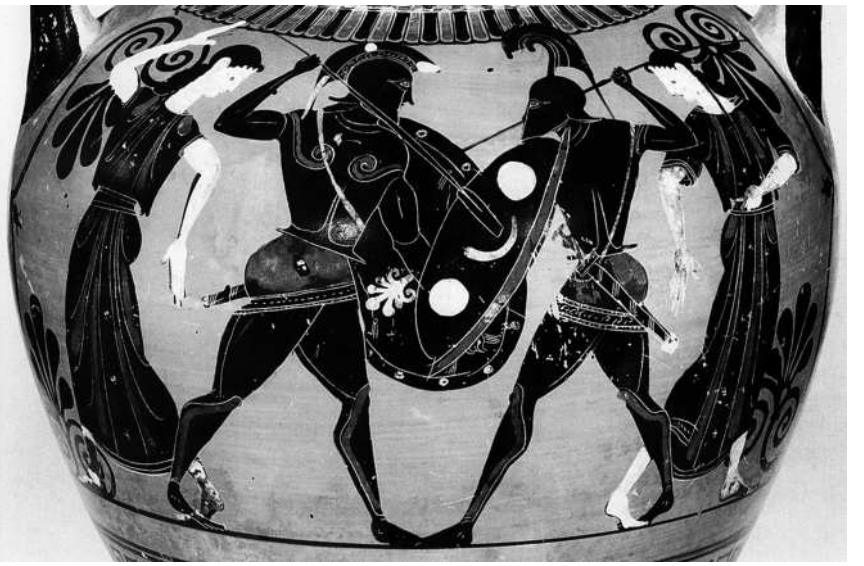

Figure 11.10 *Fighting hoplites with female observers. Black-figure amphora. London, British Museum. J. Burow,* Der Antimenes-Maler *(Mainz 1989) Taf. 135 below.*

female, old age versus youth, a structural constellation of the civic society, in clear deviation from visible reality.

But is the qualification as 'unrealistic', true as it may be, really helpful? For obviously, there is some 'reality' to this scene. The archetype of Greek war duels, the fight between Achilles and Hector, was observed (obviously from the city wall of Troy) by Priam and Hecuba, from the beginning, when Achilles first appeared, to the end, when he had brutally slain his opponent; and with the royal couple we may imagine the whole community of Trojan elders, women and children, fearing for and lamenting the destiny of their brave fighters (Homer, *Iliad* XXII). This is the 'real' social and emotional background of the observers framing the battle scenes in vase painting: they bring the real families' and citizens' participation to the fore, regardless of spatial distances. Such scenes are unrealistic only if 'correctness' of spatial relations is regarded as an essential feature of 'reality'. Anthony Snodgrass has emphasised the importance of 'synoptic' representation of time in Archaic art (Snodgrass 1982; 1998: 55–66): here we are facing 'synoptic' depiction of space. As soon as the criterion of measurable space is dismissed, this mode becomes even a way of representing more reality than in a photographic reproduction.

In a few scenes, not of fighting but of the departure of a warrior from his family, the goddess Athena makes her appearance (Fig. 11.11; Lissarrague 1990: 45–6). This may be understood as an 'ideal' replacement of those citizens who on many vases used to frame the duels of fighting: the city goddess acting as an 'abstract' personification, definitely unrealistic, of the city and its citizen body. Yet there may be more 'realism' in such

Figure 11.11 *Departure of a warrior, with Athena. Black-figure amphora. Rome, Musei Capitolini. J. Burow,* Der Antimenes-Maler *(Mainz 1989) Taf. 66 below.*

scenes: for one should not forget that in the Greek view the gods were real beings who were potentially present in all situations of life. In the famous painting of the battle of Marathon in the Athenian Stoa Poikile, the city goddess Athena was depicted as the leading power of her citizens, together with Heracles, who was conceptually present in his sanctuary near the battlefield; with Theseus, whom many participants claimed to have seen during the battle in full armour, leading the Athenian army; and with some other heroes who allegedly had helped in person against the Persians (Pausanias I.15.3; Hölscher 1973: 60–5). These are varying degrees of reality which are overlooked if the image is assessed according to rational categories of material visibility.

Finally, in some early Archaic vase paintings scenes of hoplite fighting are set in an environment of wild beasts and monsters. On a Proto-Corinthian *aryballos* two fighting hoplites appear at the side of two antithetical sphinxes; on other vases scenes of war are combined with animal friezes (Fig. 11.12). The world of untamed nature, omnipresent in the arts of the 'Orientalising' period, has been interpreted as an un- or pre-civilised state in antithesis to the cultural order of the emerging *polis* (Shanks 1999: 90–107). In this sense, hoplite war, as a controlled practice of fighting, is assigned a systematic place between the wilderness of aggressive animals on the one hand and the peaceful order of the civic space on the other. Seen in this sense, vases and other decorated objects present a highly 'constructed' constellation of the world.

Yet again, this is just one side of the coin. For this is precisely the way in which the real world was perceived and experienced (Hölscher 1999: 17–20; Winkler-Horacek 2000; 2015). The world of wild and frightening animals was not conceived as an abstract antithesis to the human order of

Figure 11.12 *Fighting hoplites with sphinxes. Proto-Corinthian* aryballos. *Athens, National Museum. M. Shanks,* Art and the Greek City State *(Cambridge 1999) fig. 3.19, 3.*

life, but was localised in specific parts of the conceptual world: in those liminal areas of woods and mountains that surrounded the cultivated territory of Greek cities, and in the remote regions beyond human civilisation, at the 'end of the world', near to Oceanus. The inner 'circle' of wild surroundings was a space of ferocious beasts, like boars, and peaceful animals, like wild goats; from hearsay and imagination lions and panthers could be added, without consciously moving from imagined reality to pure fantasy. In a world which was not yet totally explored there were no clear borderlines between experience, knowledge, imagination and fantasy. Heracles was reported to have fought in such areas against wild creatures that reach from experience to imagination: the boar of Mt Erymanthus, the lion of Nemea, the snake-monster of Lerna, even the hybrid man–horse Centaurs of the woods of Pholoe. There is no change of the level of 'reality'. Greek *poleis* were conceived as islands of order in the midst of violent nature (Plato, *Prot.* 320–3). It is in this – at the same time real and conceptual – 'outside' sphere that vase painters locate battle scenes. Of course, the juxtaposition of animals and warriors does not mean they are at a distance of two metres, but in a wider sense they are acting in the same space.

Conclusion: conceptual realism

In speaking about 'realism' in Greek and Roman antiquity, we have to take into account that we are dealing with a period, and a society, where 'reality' was conceived in categories different from our own.

There is no reason to doubt that Greek artists and viewers conceived and perceived scenes of battles with groups of face-to-face fighters as depictions of real war experience. Equally, they must have viewed nude warriors as re-productions of 'reality': in fact, such depictions represented those 'real' bodies that were decisive for success in war. The same is true of representations of nude defeated enemies, working craftsmen or ignoble slaves: it is their 'real' body that is meant to show their valour in victory or

their suffering in defeat, their labour or their ignoble nature. An antithesis to 'reality' can only be stated in such depictions if 'reality' is understood according to the criterion of physiological perception or mechanical photography. But what kind of criterion is this? Why should we qualify elements of concrete reality, which only by specific conditions are withdrawn from direct view, as unrealistic?

Moreover, when artists conceived of figurative shield devices as active forces, when they imagined gods and heroes as active supporters, and the fighters' relatives and fellow citizens as sympathising participants, they represented real actors of the event. Even the wild animals and monsters that frame some scenes of real-life battles and of various mythological events are to be understood as imagined representatives of the liminal regions where such scenes took place. These participants become unrealistic only if their pure material visibility and not their real conceptual participation is made the crucial criterion.

We make our distinction between material reality and 'significant' art on the assumption of a neutral *Lebenswelt*, open to objective perception and reproduction, which in art is transformed into a significant visual construct. Yet the *Lebenswelt* itself is perceived and formed by human beings as a meaningful kosmos. Art translates meaning into meaning.

Both, *Lebenswelt* and art, are conceptual realities. We may, from an etic perspective, be more interested in the *concepts* (of reality) in ancient images. But we should acknowledge that from the emic perspective of antiquity, images aimed at (concepts of) *reality*. In this sense art was *mimetic* and realistic (Hölscher 2015: 51–7).

These questions and considerations apply to factual themes and their composition. They need to be complemented by questions of style and its relation to reality. But this is another issue (see Dietrich 2011).

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12

Coins in a 'Home Away from Home': The Case of Sicily

Keith Rutter

Part of your early career, Anthony, and several of your subsequent writings, were devoted to the archaeology of Sicily. That was even before those Munro-bagging days when you tirelessly led your Edinburgh colleagues come rain or shine over the rugged Bens, Sgurrs, Stobs and Mealls of Scotland. And so in this contribution to your *Festschrift* it is to Sicily, and in particular its coinages, that I wish to return. Thucydides gave us the essentials of the settlement of Sicily in Archaic and Classical times (VI.2–5): in the interior of the island the Sicels and Sicani, themselves with a tradition of immigration; in the west two further immigrant groups, Elymians based principally on Segesta and Eryx, and Phoenicians from Carthage holding Motya, Panormus and Soloeis; finally, around other parts of the coasts, Greeks of varied origins who had settled from the second half of the eighth century BC. Most of these communities had produced coinage by 400 BC, some of it fairly plentiful. Coins are part of a culture and they should be able to provide significant information about the peoples who made and used them. The early coinages of Sicily provide an ideal field in which to pursue such wider questions, of the sort that have engaged you from the outset of your career: I mention just one example (Snodgrass 1994: 1), where you referred to the 'robust independence' of the new settlements, their 'challenge [to] the attainments of the Aegean cities by a wide range of criteria', their 'cosmopolitanism' and the 'degree of integration of indigenous and intrusive populations, and between intruders of different origins'.

The details of the chronology of early Greek coinage, from the first electrum coinages of western Asia Minor to the development of the new medium of exchange as a Mediterranean phenomenon, are still debated, but the speed of the spread of the idea of coining is not in dispute. The beginnings of coinage in Aegina on the one hand and in Italy and Sicily on the other seem to be separated by only a few decades around the middle of the sixth century. Two elements were essential for this development to take place: the acceptance of the *idea* of coinage and the technology required to make the coins. Both were rapidly transferred from east to west across the Mediterranean. The technology was essentially simple, it was the same wherever it was adopted and the results were broadly comparable: small

round objects made of (usually) silver with designs on both sides. What took time, sometimes quite a lot of time, was for individual communities to adopt the idea of coining, to adapt the new medium to their needs, to experiment.

How, then, did the idea of coinage fare initially in its new 'homes away from home' in Sicily? Between about 550/540 and 500 six Greek cities there produced coins (Boehringer 1984–5). (Rhegium, on the Italian side of the Straits of Messina but in the Sicilian sphere of coinage (as shown for example by the weight system it used), may also have issued coins before the end of the sixth century; Rutter 2001: no. 2468.) Between them the six coinages show a variety of approaches to coining, sometimes influenced by practices external to Sicily, sometimes home-grown. At Selinus, perhaps the first city to issue coins (Arnold-Biucchi 1992), the coinage of Corinth was particularly influential: the weight of the principal Selinuntine coin, the stater (c. 8.7 g) was close to that of Corinth (c. 8.6 g) and the technique of the earliest Selinuntine coins (Fig. 12.1) is similar to that of the earliest coins of Corinth (Fig. 12.2) (compare the broad, relatively thin flans and the flattened area of metal surrounding the reverse design). The first coins of Himera (Fig. 12.3) share some characteristics with those of Selinus (they have an obverse type and an incuse square on the reverse), but the standard coin there was a drachma on the Euboeic weight system weighing c. 5.7 g. That was also the standard of the earliest coins of Zankle (beginning c. 525; Fig. 12.4), but there the name of the city (initially abbreviated, later in full) was consistently included on the obverse. Perhaps in the last decade of the sixth century Zankle struck a small group of coins using the incuse technique (the type of a dolphin was repeated, incuse, on the reverse), a unique occurrence in Sicily of a technique that was used for most of the early coinages of Italy (Rutter 2001: 17–32). The coins of Naxos (beginning c. 510 or slightly earlier; Fig. 12.5) were the first in Sicily to carry full pictorial types on both obverse (head of Dionysus) and reverse (bunch of grapes) and from the beginning the reverse of the standard coin, a drachma of Euboeic weight, included the full ethnic.

Figure 12.1 *Selinus, AR didrachm, SNG Lloyd 1209 (diam. 21mm).*

Figure 12.2 *Corinth, AR stater, BM 1866,1201.2781* = BMC *Corinth, p. 3, no. 22 (diam. 21mm).*

Figure 12.3 *Himera, AR drachma, BM 1841,B233* = BMC *Himera 6 (diam. 21mm).*

Figure 12.4 *Zankle, AR drachma,* SNG *Lloyd 1075 (diam. 21mm).*

Figure 12.5 *Naxos, AR drachma,* SNG *Lloyd 1147 (diam. 18mm).*

The four mints discussed so far issued smaller denominations of the standard coin, if not from the beginning, then from a fairly early stage. Akragas, on the other hand (beginning c. 510–500; Fig. 12.6), issued only one denomination for the first thirty/forty years of its minting, a denomination which corresponded in weight to a stater of Selinus. (In a later development of the denominational system at Akragas this was easily assimilable to a didrachm on the Euboeic-Attic standard.) Each side of the coins of Akragas carried a pictorial design, respectively an eagle and a freshwater crab, both boldly presented in the centre of the coin. At Syracuse the early coins (beginning c. 500; Fig. 12.7) differ in most respects from any of those so far described since they have a thick, chunky fabric and were minted on a standard, the Euboeic-Attic, not met with before (unless in embryo at Akragas). Furthermore, the standard coin at Syracuse was heavier than any of those encountered so far: a tetradrachm of c. 17.4 g, accompanied initially only by its half, a didrachm. The obverse type of the tetradrachms was a quadriga, the first appearance in Sicily of a type that was to be hugely influential throughout the island later on.

The desire of some (by no means all) Greek communities in Sicily in the later sixth century to issue coins with appropriate designs and in their own name is striking. There was very little if any natural source of silver in Sicily, and a specific impetus was required to inspire a community to devote precious resources to making coins, for whatever purpose. Furthermore, the above brief survey has started to show how to begin with, granted a desire to coin and knowledge of the technology involved, the phenomenon of 'Greek coinage', in Sicily as elsewhere, was far from uniform. Their early coins give us a highly individualistic view of the Greek cities of Sicily. Ideas differed on what designs should be adopted and how they should be handled. There were different weight systems, reflecting the different origins or contacts of each city. The incidence and range of denominations also differed: at Akragas there was only one denomination; at Syracuse there were two (tetradrachm and didrachm); likewise at Naxos, where there were intensive issues of obols from the beginning. These were on a

Figure 12.6 *Akragas, AR didrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 786 (diam. 22mm).*

Figure 12.7 *Syracuse, AR tetradrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 1276 (diam. 25mm).*

larger scale than those of Himera, where on the other hand the amount of coinage overall was greater than at either of the other two 'Chalcidian' mints, Naxos and Zankle. A final point concerns the question of the extent to which coinage, once adopted, was continuous or sporadic in any particular city. The limited supply (if any) of native silver in Sicily was perhaps a factor which inhibited continuous coining, and in most cases where a die-study has been carried out that impression is confirmed: at Himera, complex die-linking in many of the early groups of coins identified by Kraay (1983: 13) strongly suggests that coinage was issued in a series of bursts of intense activity rather than a low level of uniform production over a longer period. The question of the sources of silver for coinage in Sicily will recur in the fifth century coinages too.

The fifth century was the acme of coinage in Sicily from the point of view of the number of mints operating, the amount of precious metal (mainly silver) coinage struck and the quality of the die-engraving. The six Greek mints discussed above continued to issue coins (the name of Zankle was changed to Messana c. 488) and they were joined by others: Camarina (c. 485), Gela (c. 490/485), Leontini (c. 476), Aetna (c. 470), Catana (c. 460). In all cases

except perhaps to a certain extent Syracuse the evidence supports the idea that coinage was issued in intensive bursts rather than continuously. This is particularly clear at Camarina, where coinage was confined to three comparatively short periods: c. 485, c. 461–440/435 and c. 413–405. At other mints such as Selinus and Himera it is the die-linked grouping of coins that provides the evidence.

It is appropriate at this point to develop the discussion of the sources of silver for coining in Sicily. Metal from outside the island was acquired by a number of different routes. The mines of southern Spain were an obvious source (Stesichorus 54: Ταρτησσοῦ ποταμοῦ παρὰ παγὰς ἀπείρονας ἀργυρορίζους) and analysis of one of five ingots of uncoined silver in a hoard from Selinus has shown that it may contain a significant proportion of silver from the Rio Tinto mines in Spain (Arnold-Biucchi et al. 1988; Beer-Tobey et al. 1998). There is more evidence, however, that from the beginning much of the silver for coining in Sicily came from the east in the form of imported and/or recycled coins of Aegean Greek states. The influence of Corinth on the early coinage of Selinus has already been noted and there is now more evidence for the ways in which these influences reached Selinus. The earliest known overstrikes among the Sicilian coinages were on staters of Corinth with reverse 'swastika' design, and these include two specimens from Selinus (Garraffo 1984: 138). The large hoard of Archaic silver coins and bullion from Selinus referred to above supplements the evidence in a spectacular way. Out of more than 170 coins recorded, over thirty came from Sicily and a small number from Italy, but the majority came from the two major mints of mid-sixth-century Greece: Aegina and Corinth. Finally, the presence in the hoard of one early coin of Abdera in Thrace can be set beside the appearance of coins of Acanthus in Sicilian hoards dated in the early part of the fifth century (*IGCH* 2065 (Messina, 1875); *IGCH* 2066 (Gela, 1956); *IGCH* 2071 (Monte Bubbonia, 1910)).

Taken together, these coins of Abdera and Acanthus point to an important source of silver coins that were recycled in Sicily, which can be traced further through some of the characteristics of the early tetradrachms of Syracuse. The reverses of most of these carry a small female head in the centre of a square punched design, though on the very first one the simple square punch lacks the head and is divided like a window into four smaller 'panes'. A similar design appears on the reverses of coins of several north Aegean mints (for example, Abdera, Aegae, Acanthus) which began to strike coins in the late sixth century. Furthermore the plodding 'carthorses' on the obverses of the earliest Syracusan tetradrachms seem to have been inspired by similar animals on tetradrachms traditionally attributed to the city of Olynthus (Cahn 1979). These facts, taken together with the common weight standard, indicate that the coinages of the silver-rich northern Aegean played a role in the introduction of coinage at Syracuse similar to that of Corinth at Selinus. And the phenomenon was not confined to the first coinages: overstrikes on coins of northern Greece have been identified later in the fifth century, for example at Messana (Caccamo Caltabiano 1993: 90–4). As C. Boehringer observed (1999: 181): 'Nordgriechenland war anscheinend viel mehr, als man bisher vermutet hatte, eine Metallquelle auch für Sizilien.'

So far the evidence for sources of silver and the nature of the coining itself have suggested that supplies of silver for making coins in Sicily must normally have been hard to acquire, but from time to time a large influx of booty and/or ransom money gained from success in war gave rise to a massive increase in production. In the fifth century there were two such occasions: after the defeat of the Carthaginians at the battle of Himera in 480 and after the defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse in 413. In the latter case especially it is possible to build up a picture of the different ways in which the Syracusans in particular acquired silver for coining. Thucydides emphasises (VI.31) the amount of money taken to Sicily by the Athenians and at the end of the campaign, underlining the reversal in their fortunes, he relates (VII.82.3) how four upturned shields were filled with the money of 6,000 Athenians who surrendered. From Demosthenes' speech *Against Leptines* we learn details of how ransom money might have reached the Syracusan coffers (Canevaro and Rutter 2014). The importation of Athenian coins at this time is reflected in numerous hoards from Sicily and southern Calabria dating from the late fifth and early fourth centuries (*IGCH* 1910, Vito Superiore; 1911, Reggio 1913; 2092, Selinunte; 2095, Scornavacche; 2096, Schisò; 2103, Falconara; 2114, Campobello di Licata; 2117, Lentini; 2120, Ognina; 2121, Manfria; 2123, S. Maria di Licodia; 2130, Licata; cf. also Lentini and Garraffo 1995: 39, 43); many other Athenian coins must have been used to create the coinages of the last decade of the fifth century and of the early fourth. These facts underline another important lesson about coining: one cannot coin unless the metal from which to make coins is available.

Given the precious nature of the metal resource it is not surprising that silver coins of Sicily are not found to have travelled a great deal outside the island. A further factor inhibiting circulation was the weight standard of different coinages. In the period we are considering, the only hoards outside Sicily containing Sicilian coins are Taranto in Italy (*IGCH* 1874, buried c. 500–490) and Asyut in Egypt (Price and Waggoner 1975, buried c. 475). Before c. 500 there are a few overstrikes on Sicilian coins by south Italian mints, mainly on the Ionian coast. In the fifth century there are flurries of overstriking on Sicilian coins by these same cities (Noe-Johnston 1984: 43–6, 49; Westermark 1979). In a first group, dated c. 465, the overstruck coins come for the most part from the mints of Gela, Akragas and to a smaller extent Syracuse (in the case of the last of these, didrachms were used, but also tetradrachms adjusted for weight). At Metapontum and Croton between c. 460 and 450 a further group of Sicilian coins was overstruck, perhaps reflecting the disturbances on the island during those years.

On all Sicilian coins the repertoire of designs is remarkable for its variety and interest and tells us a lot about the self-identities of communities and about their relationships, both overseas and within the island. They reveal much about the 'negotiation between local identities and overarching allegiances' referred to by Irad Malkin (2005: 16). The Greeks of Sicily did not forget where they came from and the ties that bound them to the wider Greek world. The inscription *Pelops* above a quadriga on an obverse of Himera (Fig. 12.8) refers in general to Olympia and may recall specifically the victory or victories in the foot race won there in 472 and 464 by Ergoteles, a citizen

Figure 12.8 *Himera, AR tetradrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 1016 (diam. 24mm).*

of Himera. It should be noted that unlike other forms of Sicilian relationships with Panhellenic shrines, such as dedications and the building of treasuries, this one was designed for local consumption rather than for its potential impact on cities of the homeland. The same might be said of the depiction of Arethusa on the coins of Syracuse, symbolising a close link with the Peloponnese (Rutter 2000: 79), and also the appearance of a mule-car on coins of Messana (and Rhegium, on the toe of Italy). This type refers directly to the victory won by its ruler Anaxilas in the mule-car race at Olympia, probably in 480, and is as close as we get on Sicilian coins of the fifth century to any indication of a specific event or personal achievement. No names of tyrants of the period are recorded on fifth-century coins, as they are for example on dedications at Delphi and Olympia (Delphi: Meiggs-Lewis, no. 28; Olympia: Meiggs-Lewis, no. 29.

But apart from such indications of 'Panhellenism' in the coinages of Sicily, what is really striking is the extent to which local interests are reflected there. Local river-gods are especially common types, on early coins in the form of a man-faced bull (e.g. Gela (Fig. 12.9) or Catana (Fig. 12.10), later as a human head, with a horn above the brow to indicate divinity, as at Camarina (Fig. 12.11), or in fully human form, as at Selinus (Fig. 12.12). There is a pride in such elements of local topography that is reflected also in the details of literary references to them, particularly in the odes composed by Pindar or Bacchylides to honour Sicilian victors in the great international festivals of the Greeks (Rutter 2000). This focus on locality embraces not only rivers but other features of the landscape such as the hot springs of Himera, where the type on Fig. 12.13 has a marked pictorial quality, or the circular harbour of Zankle, with its famous sickle-shape (see Fig. 12.4 above). These landscapes and the seas around them were the home to fauna that were depicted in remarkable detail, like the eagle, crab and fish on a coin of Akragas (Fig. 12.14). Such delight in the environment and the recognition of the sacred within it as reflected on coins is a notable feature of the Greek experience in Sicily.

Figure 12.9 *Gela, AR tetradrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 961 (diam. 27mm).*

Figure 12.10 *Catana, AR tetradrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 887 (diam. 25mm).*

Figure 12.11 *Camarina, AR didrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 875 (diam. 18mm).*

Figure 12.12 *Selinus, AR tetradrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 1226 (diam. 25mm).*

Figure12.13 *Himera, AR tetradrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 1019 (diam. 25mm).*

Figure 12.14 *Akragas, AR tetradrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 822 (diam. 28mm).*

The consistently high quality of Sicilian coin dies has often been remarked on, and many of them, in all periods, are masterpieces of the die-engravers' skill. In this as in other aspects of cultural life, the 'colonies' in Sicily were neither secondary nor backwaters; on the contrary, they certainly 'offered a challenge [to] the attainments of the Aegean cities' (Snodgrass 1994: 1). Engravers of dies for coins did not normally sign them and they remain for the most part without a name. In Sicily, however, in one well-defined period starting after 413 and continuing into the early years of the fourth century it is possible to assess the work of a number of engravers who signed their dies. Most of the names (whether abbreviated or written out in full) are engraved in tiny letters, often almost hidden, for example among strands of hair or on the body of a dolphin. That is one reason why they are regarded as engravers' signatures: it is unlikely that the name of a magistrate would have been written so inconspicuously. But why did these engravers sign their work in such profusion at this particular time and especially in Sicily? Although the Syracusan democracy had emerged triumphant from the Athenian onslaught in 413, it very soon found itself facing Carthaginian invasions from without and tyranny at home. On the face of it the severe emergencies of the time were not favourable to artistic creativity at all, let alone of the highest sort, yet the fact is that work of superlative quality was produced. There was in Sicily at this time what one might call a small community of craftsmen-engravers who were heirs to a long tradition of fine engraving, competed with one another in the elaboration of their designs, responded to outside influences such as those deriving from the art of Athens, and reflected and realised the ambitious programmes of those who commissioned their work (Rutter 2012).

So far I have been discussing aspects of what their coins tell us about the Greeks of Sicily. It is easy, following Thucydides' description VI.2–5) of the peoples of the island, to think in terms of 'power blocks' or 'zones of influence', 'eternal enmities', 'oppositional Greek identities' (Malkin 2011: 39–41 refers to such concepts). The evidence of the coins does not support the rigidity of such an approach. It was certainly the Greeks who introduced and developed the phenomenon of coinage in the later sixth and early fifth centuries, but equally they did not retain a monopoly of the medium. And they not only gave to their neighbours, they borrowed in return. Nothing perhaps demonstrates more effectively than their coinages the porous nature of any 'boundaries' there may have been between the different peoples of Sicily. Let us see how some of this works out with reference to coinages made by some of the Siceli, the Elymians and the Phoenicians.

Among the first non-Greek people of Sicily to make coins were Sicel communities in central/eastern Sicily in the mid-fifth century (*Atti Convegno IV* 1975). It is possible that in an intermediate stage before the issue of their own coins, they and other Sicels had made (or at least used) 'barbarised' coins, with types imitating those of both large and small denominations of Greek mints, especially the three mints of the most powerful tyrannies:

Syracuse, Gela and Akragas. Many (but by no means all) of these issues were silver-plated and the majority date from the second quarter of the fifth century (Boehringer 1975). The first coins that can be assigned to a specific mint are from Morgantina, where the earliest series, with a bearded male head on the obverse and an ear of grain on the reverse (Fig. 12.15), may be dated around the middle of the fifth century. On an issue of Enna (Fig. 12.16), perhaps of approximately the same date, the reverse type of Demeter standing before an altar holding a flaming torch is based on the type of a sacrificing nymph on tetradrachms of Himera (see Fig. 12.13 above); the obverse type of a quadriga driven by Demeter holding corn ears derives in a general way from similar types at Syracuse and Gela, though the corn ears seem to be an original concept at this date. At Galaria, an unidentified community in eastern Sicily, the obverse type of the first issue of coins (Fig. 12.17), also dating c. 450, shows Zeus (with the inscription *Soter*) seated on a throne and holding an eagle-tipped sceptre, strikingly similar to the design on the reverse of the first tetradrachm of Hieron's foundation of Aetna (for the imagery of Zeus at Aetna, see Rutter 2000: 80); the reverse shows Dionysus standing facing, holding a wine-cup and grapes. The second

Figure 12.15 *Morgantina, AR litra, BM RPK,p242A.1.Mor* = BMC *Morgantina 1 (diam. 11mm).*

Figure 12.16 *Enna, AR litra, BM TC,p64.1.Enn* = BMC *Enna 1 (diam. 11mm).*

Figure 12.17 *Galaria, AR litra, BM TC,p64.1.Gal* = BMC *Galaria 1 (diam. 11mm).*

Figure 12.18 *Abacaenum, AR litra, BM RPK,p221A.4* = BMC *Abacaenum 1 (diam. 11mm).*

issue of Galaria, dated in the last decade of the fifth century, continues the Dionysian theme, with Dionysus himself on the obverse and on the reverse a vine stem with leaves and a bunch of grapes that finds its closest parallel on small coins of Naxos dating c. 410 (Cahn 1944: 133, nos. 104–5). Finally, from Abacaenum come a whole series of small coins (Fig. 12.18) in the second half of the fifth century and later, with a distinctive male or a female head on the obverse, while the reverse shows a type specific to this mint: a boar or sow, often with piglet and/or acorn.

All the above coins (Figs. 12.15–12.18) were of silver; they were struck in the Greek manner and with inscriptions in Greek referring to the name of the community carrying out the striking; and they were all specimens of a single denomination: the litra. From the start the metrology of Sicilian coinages had been complex, and it remained so even after Syracusan political and military dominance introduced a degree of standardisation across the mints. Among the early coinages denominations are frequently hard to identify, particularly of smaller coins, which usually lack any marks that might indicate a denomination and sometimes appear to have been struck

underweight. The fifth century introduced the further complication that whereas in the Greek world as a whole the drachma was normally divided into six obols, in Sicily contact with the native weight system gave rise to a second method of subdivision of he drachma, into five litrai (Parise 1979; Manganaro 1984; 1999). We have just reviewed examples of such litrai from Sicel mints in the second half of the fifth century. Thus in Sicily the drachma of Euboeic-Attic weight (4.38 g) could be divided into six obols of 0.73 g or five litrai of 0.86 g. The litra in turn was divided into twelve onkiai, allowing the possibility of an elaborate denominational system: hemilitron, five-, four-, three-, two- and one-onkia pieces (the onkia, with a theoretical silver weight of 0.072 g, being the smallest coin denomination in the Greek world). Values in onkiai were quite frequently, but by no means always, indicated by the appropriate number of pellets, from one to six. The use of letters to indicate a denomination is, by contrast, rare: at Akragas the letters LI or LIT (for litra) are found (apparently deemed necessary because the coins are underweight), and also PEN standing for 'pentalitron', five litrai, a rare denomination.

The naming of the various multiples of onkiai rests largely on the evidence of Pollux (IV.173–5 (*Script. Metrolog.* I.297–8); IX.79–82 (*Script. Metrolog.* I.291–3)). Older descriptions of coins referred to a three-onkia piece as a trias and a four-onkia piece as a tetras, but in the nomenclature that has replaced it in recent years, a three-onkia piece is a tetras (one-quarter of a litra, 0.218 g) and a four-onkia piece is a trias (one-third of a litra, 0.29 g). Other terms are standard: a two-onkia piece is a hexas (one-sixth of a litra, 0.145 g); a five-onkia piece is a pentonkion (0.36 g); a six-onkia piece is a hemilitron (0.435 g). From the ideal weights given it can be seen that there are some useful equivalences between the obol system and the litra system: a hemiobol is equivalent to a pentonkion (0.36 g) and five hexantes are equivalent to one obol (0.73 g); one obol and one hexas are required to make up a litra. With regard to the chronology of the different systems, at Syracuse, Gela, Aitna-Catana and Leontini the litra superseded the obol after the 'Damareteion series', that is, either just before or just after 466 (Boehringer 1998: 46–7). But the two systems had existed side by side for a short while before that at Syracuse and Gela, which both struck the hexas alongside the obol (Syracuse: Boehringer 1929: nos. 362–70 (obols); no. 373 (hexas). Gela: Jenkins 1970: nos. 189–98 (obols); nos. 199–202 (hexantes)).

A further important consequence of the interaction between Greeks and native Sicels was the early advent of bronze coinage in Sicily, an innovation introduced around the middle of the fifth century practically in parallel with mints in southern Italy (the priority between Italy and Sicily is still debated: Brousseau 2010). This is a large topic, not embarked on here, except to comment on one point, namely that although the introduction of bronze coinage in the two numismatic 'regions' of southern Italy and Sicily took place at approximately the same time, the approaches to coinage in bronze in each were often radically different. For example, in Sicily there were experiments with the form that such coins could take: at Akragas and Selinus some early coins were cast, a technique never encountered in Italy;

at Akragas again some early 'coins' take the form of cast pieces in the form of a cone (Fig. 12.19), or in the case of the onkia, they are almond-shaped. More generally, on the early (fifth-century) bronze coins of Italy there are never any pellets or marks of value, as there often are in Sicily, and in Italy the typological relationship between silver and bronze coins is far closer than it is in Sicily.

Before leaving the coinages of the Greek cities, a word about coinage in gold. Such coinage was rare in the Greek world before the innovations of Philip II of Macedon and it tends, with Athens towards the close of the Peloponnesian War in mind, to be regarded as a sign of crisis. That view is borne out by the incidence of gold coinages in Sicily. Apart from one coin of Messana dated around the middle of the fifth century (Caccamo Caltabiano 1993: no. 321), gold coinages are concentrated in the last decade of the fifth century (Syracuse, Akragas, Gela, Camarina) or early in the fourth (Messana). The air of crisis is particularly apparent in a series of coins struck at Gela, Camarina and Syracuse (but not Akragas) early in 405. Akragas had recently fallen to the Carthaginians, and an attack on Gela was imminent: at this critical moment the Geloans appealed to their saviour goddess, Sosipolis (Fig. 12.20). After 405 Syracuse under Dionysius I issued two heavy denominations of gold, one equivalent to a silver decadrachm, the other to 20 drachmae of silver (Fig. 12.21). Dionysius'

Figure 12.19 *Akragas, AE trias, BM 1900,0304.5.*

Figure 12.20 *Gela, AV tetradrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 981 (diam. 10mm).*

Figure 12.21 *Syracuse, AV 20 drachmae,* SNG *Lloyd 1419 (diam. 12mm).*

gold coinage thus paralleled the silver in its concentration on denominations of high value (in silver, the tetradrachm was abandoned in favour of the decadrachm; 20 drachmae was never a silver coin).

I have already discussed some of the interactions that occurred between Greeks and their Sicel neighbours in eastern Sicily. In the west of the island, the Elymians of Segesta and Eryx were a people with artistic traditions, cults and a language that were distinct from those of other inhabitants of Sicily. Segesta started to mint coins c. 470 (Hurter 2008; Rutter 2013), with the principal denomination a didrachm minted on the Euboeic standard (Fig. 12.22); the didrachms were accompanied from time to time by a few issues of smaller denominations, mainly litrai but occasionally from c. 440 hemilitra and hexantes. As at other mints, a careful die-study supports the idea not of a continuous minting of coins, but rather of periods or bursts of comparatively heavy minting (Hurter herself pointed to two such periods in particular: the first twenty years of minting and the 440s). The choice by Segesta to issue mainly didrachms is significant because it seems to complement, or work in tandem with, the practice of other (Greek) mints. For several years before Segesta started its coinage, didrachms on the same weight standard had been issued by three Greek mints on the south-west coast of Sicily: Selinus, Akragas and Gela. But at the time when Segesta was starting to mint its own didrachms these Greek cities were abandoning their production of this denomination in favour of a larger coin, the tetradrachm. Thus from the mid-fifth century onwards Segesta was the main provider of didrachms in Sicily.

In terms of weight standard and general minting technique, then, Segesta followed a Greek model of coining, and one initially related to the monetary practices of other neighbouring mints. The Segestans also followed the Greek practice that was well established by 470 of stamping both sides of a coin with a type. But in Segesta's case the types of the didrachms referred to the city's own traditions. There is no Elymian written tradition, and we have only Greek-centred accounts, transmitted to us in their earliest version by Thucydides (VI.2.3): the Elymians were descendants of Trojans who had escaped the Achaean sack of their city. Later

Figure 12.22 *Segesta, AR didrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 1166 (diam. 19mm).*

writers transmitted details of the story of a Trojan woman Aigeste: after she arrived in Sicily she was seduced by the river god Krimisos in the form of a hound, and gave birth to Aigestes, a hero who founded the three cities of Segesta, Eryx and Entella (on Aigeste/Aigestes: *LIMC* 1981: 355–7, 357–8; on Krimisos: *LIMC* 1992: 135–7).

In the light of these stories there is no doubt about the identity of the hound on the obverse of the Segestan didrachms: he is the river-god Krimisos. On coins in both Sicily and southern Italy the standard way of depicting a river-god is as a bull, often man-faced, as at Gela or Catana (see Figs. 12.9 and 12.10 above). Nowhere else except at Segesta (and on coins copying the iconography of Segesta) is a river symbolised as a hound. The Segestans chose an original design for the obverse of their didrachms that was based on their own traditions. Following those traditions, the female head on the reverse must represent that of the 'Trojan' Aigeste, so that obverse and reverse portray respectively the father and mother of Aigestes. Unlike that of the hound, the portrayal on a coin of the head of a local female divinity was already familiar in Sicily and south Italy. The most famous and influential of these is the head of Arethusa on the coins of Syracuse (see Fig. 12.28 below). Hurter (2008: 22) documents instances of the influence of the Syracusan heads of Arethusa on the reverse heads on the didrachms of Segesta throughout the fifth century, and some are illustrated in Rutter (2009: 30; 2013: 7). Why did this extensive copying of the Syracusan Arethusas occur? (The head was copied at other mints too, not only in Sicily, but for example on the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy, in Campania.) At the beginning of Segesta's coinage at least, the only model among western Greek coinages for showing the profile head of a female deity was Syracuse, and the reflection of Syracusan styles at Segesta may show a degree of artistic admiration and emulation. But that is not the whole story by any means. As I have argued elsewhere (Rutter 2009: 30–2), the contemporary background to the extensive imitations of Syracusan styles in Sicilian and Italian coinages is the gathering and hiring of soldiers, especially mercenary soldiers. The

importance of Segesta as a centre for the recruitment and deployment of mercenary soldiers is well documented (Diodorus Siculus XIII.7.4, 43.3–4, 44.1–2, etc.).

A further element of Segestan coinage worth studying is the inscriptions, which refer to the Segestans themselves, the issuers of the coins. Their name occurs in a variety of forms (Hurter 2008: 35–9), on the first coins on the obverse, on later coins on the reverse or occasionally on both sides of the coin. The most common form of the legend is *Segestazib*: the letters are Greek, but the form of the ending *-zib* is Elymian. There are many mistakes of spelling or letter formation, especially but not only in the early years of coining, which may suggest that the legends were engraved by a local craftsman – though the quality of the types is on the whole good. What does the ending *-zib* signify? Three reverses of coins issued in the later 460s show the variation *Segestazibemi*, which seems to indicate possession, 'I am [a coin] of the Segestans'. The Elymian form *Segestazib* was used for about sixty years before the Greek form *Egestaion* (with omicron) appeared for the first time on didrachms about 410, but the Greek form did not replace the Elymian, and both continued to appear until the end of the didrachm coinage in the early fourth century. Just before 410, no doubt influenced by other mints and in response to the imminent Carthaginian threat, Segesta started to issue tetradrachms. The first of these (Hurter 2008: 131, T1) combines the Greek form *Egestaion* on the obverse with *Segestazib* on the reverse. Later tetradrachms continue to mix Greek and Elymian forms, often on the same coin, while sometimes offering a new form of the Greek legend, with penultimate letter omega rather than omicron. The complex interweaving of forms of legends does not support any simple notion of a linear 'process of Hellenisation'.

Segesta's Elymian neighbour Eryx also issued coins, beginning a little later, c. 460. The ways in which coinage was adopted here illustrate very well both the diversity of local reactions to cultural influences and the exercise of choice, in what to accept and what to disregard (Dietler 1999; Hodos 2006). The coinage of Eryx differed from that of Segesta in three main ways. First, whereas the main denomination at Segesta was the didrachm, at Eryx it was the litra; indeed, down to about 410 the largest denomination at Eryx, issued only rarely, was the drachma. The second difference relates to the selection of coin types. From time to time the typology of the coins of the two centres was close – for example, from about 440 Eryx adopted a hound similar to that at Segesta – but in marked contrast to the Segestan focus on Syracusan models, Eryx borrowed much more extensively from the repertoire of types of other neighbouring Greek cities: Selinus, Akragas, Himera (Fig. 12.23, Akragas; Fig. 12.24, Eryx). The third area in which the coins of Eryx differ from those of Segesta is in the language of the inscriptions. At Eryx these were written from the beginning in the Greek form *Erykinon*, and it was only c. 410 that the Elymian form *Erykazib* appeared for the first time. It is interesting to observe, though, that around the middle of the century a unique joint issue of litrai between Segesta and Eryx (Hurter: 123, fig. 13) has *Segestaion* on the obverse and *Erykinon* on the reverse. Here the Greek form customary at

Figure 12.23 *Akragas, AR litra,* SNG *Lloyd 813 (diam. 9mm).*

Figure 12.24 *Eryx, AR litra,* SNG *Lloyd 934 (diam. 10mm).*

Eryx has influenced the form of the Segestan legend long before – about forty years before – its first regular appearance at Segesta itself. What is the explanation for the different reactions of the mints of Segesta and Eryx to a monetary environment that was presumably the same for both? I offer an explanation (Rutter 2013: 8–10) rooted in the different functions of the two communities. Eryx was a wealthy religious centre with a famous temple of Aphrodite (Polyb. I.55.7–8). The types of its coinage, reflecting those of neighbouring cities, offered to visitors from those places a familiarity that they could trust. Segesta, on the other hand, although it did begin to build its great temple in the late fifth century, was much more important as a military centre associated as we have already seen with the gathering and hiring of mercenary soldiers. This function could also be part of the explanation for the role of the didrachm in its coinage.

Close neighbours of the Elymians in western Sicily were the Phoenician colonists settled in Motya and Panormus (modern Palermo). In the last decade of the fifth century, extensive warfare between Greeks and invading Carthaginians stimulated the adoption of coinage both by these communities and also by the Carthaginians themselves.

First, Motya, a naval stronghold set on an island in a lagoon on the west coast and well known to the recipient of this volume. The first coins of Motya, starting c. 410 (Fig. 12.25), were silver didrachms on the same weight standard as those of Segesta. The obverse type is a rider jumping from his horse (*apobates*) which is copied from a similar type at Himera (Fig. 12.26). The reverse type of Fig. 12.25 is a female head with a more complex pedigree: its immediate inspiration is a head on coins of Segesta (Fig. 12.27) which in turn is derived from a Syracusan model (Fig. 12.28). The origin of the coins is shown by the name of the Motyans, in Greek form and lettering, *Motyaion*. So the first coins of Punic Motya are thoroughly Greek in character. It is not long, however, before even more complexity is introduced, this time in the minting process. For a short period it seems that the mint of Segesta struck coins not only in its own name but also on behalf of the Motyans and of another Phoenician centre, Panormus (Hurter 2008: 46–8; Rutter 2009). The first coins in the name of Panormus (Fig. 12.29) were silver didrachms with types similar to those of Segesta: obverse, hound; reverse, female head.

Figure 12.25 *Motya, AR didrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 1135 (diam. 22mm).*

Figure 12.26 *Himera, AR didrachm, BM 1868,0730.104* = BMC *Himera 35 (diam. 20mm).*

Figure 12.27 *Segesta, AR didrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 1180 (diam. 22mm).*

Figure 12.28 *Syracuse, AR tetradrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 1353 (diam. 22mm).*

Figure 12.29 *Panormus, AR didrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 1162 (diam. 19mm).*

Thus in western Sicily the Elymian centres of Segesta and Eryx adopted the medium of coinage from the Greeks; each city chose what suited it from the repertoire of types available and on occasion introduced types to match its own traditions. From Segesta the idea of coinage was passed on to the two Punic communities of Motya and Panormus. At the same time, also stimulated by warfare and in particular by the Carthaginian invasions, there began large issues of the 'institutional' (the term is Mildenberg's: 1993: 5) Punic coinage (Fig. 12.30). These consisted entirely of tetradrachms and were struck at a number of travelling mints within Sicily. They are Greek in their minting technique, weight standard and denomination, but the designs and inscriptions of the first series are Punic: the obverse shows the forepart of a horse, being crowned by a Nike flying above. The reverse shows a palm tree with the inscription in Punic letters: QRTHDST (Jenkins 1974). QRTHDST refers to 'Carthage', Qart Hadasht, 'New City', and it would be natural to assume from that and from the types that the place of minting of the coins was, as it appears to say, Carthage. But Leo Mildenberg (1992) showed on a number of grounds that these coins were minted in Sicily and formed part of the 'institutional' coinage of the Carthaginians in the island, a status underlined by the reverse inscription on many of them MHNT, which is not the name of a specific city, but means 'the camp'. Just like the city coinages of Segesta, Motya and Panormus, the background to this 'institutional' coinage was also military, but in this case the coins tell us so. Other series of Punic 'institutional' coinages tied to no particular place were introduced throughout the fourth century, such as those inscribed RŠMLQRT (Fig. 12.31). The types of such coins depended heavily on Syracusan models, with obverse type quadriga and reverse type most commonly a female head surrounded by dolphins (Jenkins 1971: 53–69).

The coinages of Sicily in the Archaic and Classical periods are a rich source of information about the communities that made them. As far as the Greeks are concerned their coins provide plenty of illustrations of the highest achievements of Hellenism, displayed in particular in the skilled design

Figure 12.30 *Carthage, AR tetradrachm, BM G.135 (diam. 21mm).*

Figure 12.31 *RŠMLQRT, AR tetradrachm,* SNG *Lloyd 1604 (diam. 21mm).*

and execution of the coin types. They also offer insights into the nature of the relationships between the Siceliote cities. To begin with the coinages show a high degree of individuality in weights, in the nature and content of the elements chosen for portrayal, in the technique used to fashion the coins. Over time this individuality gives way to a much greater degree of conformity, thanks in part to political developments, in particular the increasing domination of Syracuse. At the same time, though, the choice of coin types illustrates a specifically Sicilian take on Hellenism, with its emphasis on place and on the environment, in particular on its flora and fauna: eagles, crabs, dolphins, fish, plants are all shown with a detail and an accuracy rarely achieved anywhere else. But of course the Greeks do not stand alone. They introduced coinage into Sicily, but they were not the only ones to make coins, and the ways in which coinage was adopted by others offer multiple insights into the interactions and often the integrations between the various peoples of the island. Sometimes the motive for the adoption of coinage seems to have been based on peaceful exchange, as is suggested by the experiences of some Sicel communities in the fifth century. Conversely, their use of the litra denomination profoundly influenced Greek practice. But at certain periods, in particular in the last decade of the fifth century, it was warfare, and specific aspects of warfare such as payments for troops and equipment, that did most to encourage the adoption and spread of coinage. It is a paradox that the life-and-death struggles of these years that caused such terrible destruction and gave rise to military dictatorship at the same time encouraged the production of coinages that were more extensive than before and of a surpassing artistic brilliance.

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Section IV

The Greeks and their Neighbours

13

Life on Earth and Death from Heaven: The Golden Pectoral of the Scythian King from the Tolstaya Mogila (Ukraine)

Ernst Künzl

The find

In the grave mound (kurgan) in the Ukraine known as Tolstaya Mogila there was found in 1971 a piece of gold jewellery that has entered the archaeological record as the pectoral of an unknown Scythian king (see Fig. 13.7 below). The collar or pectoral is made up of four torques, enclosing three decorative zones: the overall shape is that of an apotropaic lunula. The decoration is composed in relief, on a background of sheet gold in the middle zone, and as relief-like tableaux of free-standing figures in the upper and lower zones. The three thematically distinct friezes portray, respectively, the life of successful and happy Scythians and their livestock; the blossoming flora of Scythia; and the looming danger of death for all animal and plant life. This menace is embodied by six griffins, bearing down from above on the noble horses of the Scythians. Further motifs in this zone are animal combats with lions, panthers, a stag and boar, as well as hounds hunting hares. At the ends, four locusts reveal the true meaning behind the griffins' deadly attack: they represent the swarms of locusts from the south (*Locusta migratoria*, *Schistocerca gregaria*) that menaced the land, and against which, just as with the mythical griffins, there were no means of defence.

Locusta migratoria

'And the Lord said unto Moses, "Stretch out thine hand over the land of Egypt for the locusts, that they may come up upon the land of Egypt"' (Exodus 10:12). And so a black cloud of locusts descended on the mighty Egypt of the thirteenth century BC:

> For they covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened; and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the

> trees which the hail had left: and there remained not any green thing in the trees, or in the herbs of the field, through all the land of Egypt. (Exodus 10:15)

It is likely that, at this time, pharaonic Egypt fell victim to the African desert locust (*Schistocerca gregaria*) (Fig. 13.1). Many plagues mentioned in antiquity can be linked to the swarms of this African species of locust, swept northwards by the south wind. Whether involving the African desert locust or the European migratory locust (*Locusta migratoria*), modern research into ancient descriptions of plagues (Bodson 1991; Graßl 1998) reveals that Greece and Asia Minor suffered from locust plagues, as well as the whole of the Near East, almost all North Africa and vast areas of Italy. Scythia is not shown on the map in Fig. 13.2, but this almost certainly reflects a lack of interest on the part of the ancient Mediterranean-based authors, who took no notice of natural disasters in lands they considered barbaric. The ever-present danger of locusts in the Orient is not only reflected by the corresponding passages in the Old Testament (besides Exodus 10, see Joel 1:2–7); in the Neo-Assyrian Empire the kings Sargon II, Sennacherib and Assurbanipal also caused accounts of locust invasions to be recorded, in the century between 722 and 629 BC (Levinson and Levinson 2001: 86).

Figure 13.1 *African desert locust* (Schistocerca gregaria). *Frankfurt a. M., Zoologischer Garten. Photo: E. Künzl.*

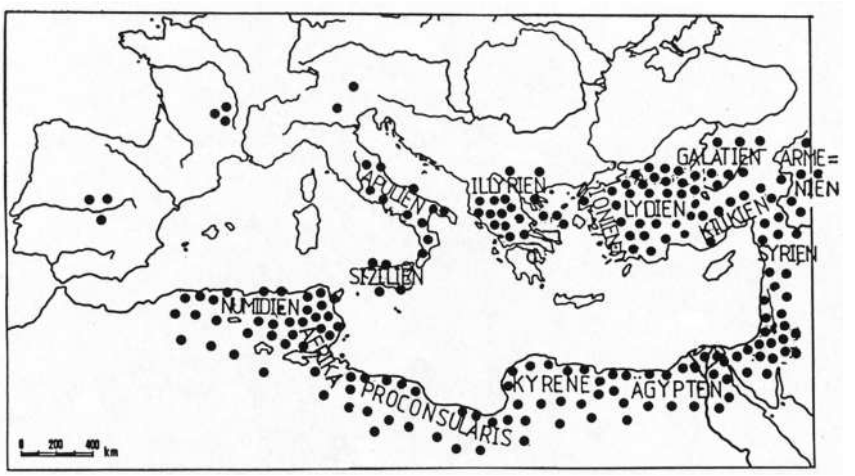

Figure 13.2 *Locust invasions in the Mediterranean region according to ancient sources (Graßl 1998: 440).*

While accounts from the area of ancient Scythia in eastern Europe are missing, there are enough recent reports from this region to show that it still falls victim to the attacks of locust swarms, even though in central Europe they are all but forgotten. The danger persists to the present day, as news of locust plagues in the Kharkov (Kharkiv) region in July 2011, and in south Russia in August 2011, show; the lower Volga region was especially affected at that time.

More detailed are the accounts of the Frenchman Guillaume le Vasseur, who travelled around south Russia in the seventeenth century and witnessed particularly enormous locust swarms in 1645 and 1646 (Le Vasseur 1780: 108; his book on Ukraine originally appeared in French in 1650). These swarms came in separate clouds which were 'five to six miles long and two to three miles wide'. Each of these separate swarms could consist of up to two billion animals. There have, however, been sightings of swarms consisting of an estimated 35 billion animals with a total weight of 50,000 tons, covering an area of over 200 sq km. Other estimates speak of 40 billion to 47 billion animals and a weight of 80,000 tons (Levinson and Levinson 2001: 84). No hostile army was capable of causing comparable devastation to agriculture and livestock.

Swarms of dead locusts could still contaminate whole areas. This happened in 125 BC on the coast of North Africa, which was first stripped bare by the swarms and then poisoned by masses of dead locusts. More than 600 years later the event was still of interest to the writers of the time (Augustine, *Civ. Dei* III.31; Graßl 1998: 443). Pliny the Elder devoted a detailed commentary to the locust (*NH* XI.101–7).

The Greeks knew of locusts (*párnops*, *akrís*) from painful experience (Davies and Kathirithamby 1986: 134–49). On the Acropolis of Athens stood a votive statue by Phidias of Apollo Parnopios, the fighter of locusts,

a god who could send as well as avert the plague of locusts (Pausanias I.24): 'Opposite the temple [Parthenon] a bronze Apollo stands, and the statue is said to be crafted by Phidias. They call him Parnopios, for the god told them that he would drive out the locusts that plagued their land'. Pausanias further tells of three plagues of migratory locusts in the Sipylos region in western Asia Minor. Apollo Parnopios was, like Apollo Smintheus, a god who simultaneously brought and took away plagues. The so-called Kassel Apollo has been reconstructed as the Apollo Parnopios of Phidias, with a locust in his right hand (Gercke 1991: 187, no. 50; Simon 2013), a truly remarkable suggestion (Figs. 13.3–4).

Depictions of locusts are otherwise rather rare. There is a realistic depiction of a *Schistocerca gregaria* on an Assyrian glazed and painted tile from the eighth century BC, showing a dignitary pleading with the god Assur for assistance against the locusts (Levinson and Levinson 2001: 87, fig. 5). The depictions of locusts on coins from Magna Graecia (Metapontum, Elea, Akragas, Messana; Bodson 1991: 57, fig. 1; Graßl 1998: 446–7), as well as the locusts on two silver medallions from Nihavend in Iran, which supposedly were once parts of *phialae* (Oliver 1977: nos. 38–9; Simon 2013: 79,

Figure 13.3 *Kassel Apollo by Phidias. Suggested reconstruction as Apollo Parnopios. Mid-fifth century* BC. *Photo: Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Antikensammlung.*

Figure 13.4 *Kassel Apollo by Phidias. Suggested reconstruction as Apollo Parnopios. Detail. Photo: Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, Antikensammlung.*

fig. 2), can all be understood as apotropaic. An allusion to Apollo Parnopios appears in the form of a locust and a kithara on a third-century BC silver medallion from Taranto (Strong 1966: pl. 29B). On the Pergamene mosaic with the signature of Hephaistion, such an animal can be seen on the vine decorations; the mosaic is from the north-western room of Palace V (first half of the second century BC; Bingöl 1997: pl. 10). Magna Graecia and Asia Minor were both regions that had experienced severe locust invasions. And yet, in Greek depictions, locusts never appear in groups, only as single specimens. So it is very remarkable to find no fewer than four of them on the golden pectoral from the Tolstaya Mogila; considering all we know about the Greek depiction of locusts (Davies and Kathirithamby 1986; Simon 2013), this fourfold appearance is unique and can be understood as a portrayal of a whole swarm (see Fig. 13.10 below).

The kurgans: pyramids of the steppes

Before the dissolution of the Soviet republics of the USSR, the term 'south Russia' referred to the whole region north of the Black Sea and the Caucasus Mountains. That is to be kept in mind when reading about finds in south Russia in publications prior to 1991. Since Ukraine became independent,

finds from that region no longer belong politically to southern Russia. I shall try to use formulations that conform to the present situation, as well as to archaeological tradition.

In ancient times, the vast steppes of Ukraine and south Russia were home to Indo-Iranian nomads. During the fifth and fourth centuries BC, which concern us, the nucleus of Scythian dominance had already shifted from the Kuban region and the Caucasus foothills to the steppe and forest steppe north of Crimea, on both sides of the Borysthenes (Dnieper). The kurgan Tolstaya Mogila belongs to this group of steppe-dwelling Scythians. The peoples of the civilisations further south had never made a serious attempt at northward expansion, or never with success. The Scythian campaign of the Persian king Darius, who tried to subdue the northern shores of the Black Sea around 512 BC, had been unsuccessful (Herodotus, book IV *passim*). The Scythians commanded great respect, and even Alexander of Macedon gave Scythia a wide berth.

Herodotus' fourth book is the most important source for the Scythians of the Classical period; he had been to Scythia himself, between the rivers Hypanis (southern Bug) and Borysthenes (Dnieper) (Herodotus, IV.82), and he cites the 'enormous and countless rivers' as a characteristic of the Scythian landscape. Of Hecataeus and Ephorus, too little survives. All in all, ancient sources tell us little about the details of Scythian life, and even less about Scythian history:

> The major part of Herodotus' Scythia was a blank space within the real scientific knowledge of that time. Here occurred migrations and clashes of tribes of whom nobody had ever heard, not even the merchants of the Greek coastal cities on the Black Sea shore. Even more obscure were these tribes, some of them new, some old, with regard to their state organisation, their customs, their religion. (Rostovzev 1931: 7–8)

Just as with the Germanic peoples, where archaeology had to fill the gaps left by Caesar, Tacitus and the *Edda*, the archaeological finds from Scythia provide a colourful parallel image. The rich burial offerings confirm Herodotus' account of golden bowls for a king's burial (Herodotus, IV.71). He further remarks that the Scythians strove to pile up the mounds over their kings' tombs as high as possible (Fig. 13.5).

> By thousands upon thousands, singly or in groups, often along the course of the major rivers, usually low, but sometimes also of enormous size, up to the borders of the steppe they cover the earth of South Russia. South of the Dnieper rapids, near Nikopol and Mariupol, and in the vicinity of the Greek coastal cities, around Olbia, on both sides of the Cimmerian Bosporus, near Kerch on the Taman peninsula and in the Kuban region they stand taller and closer together. Many, most of them, have been destroyed. Easy to recognize and filled with riches, they have stirred human avarice at all times. (Ebert 1921: 110)

The find-spot of the object of our examination is a kurgan, a barrow-mound near present-day Ordzhonikidze on the right bank of the Lower

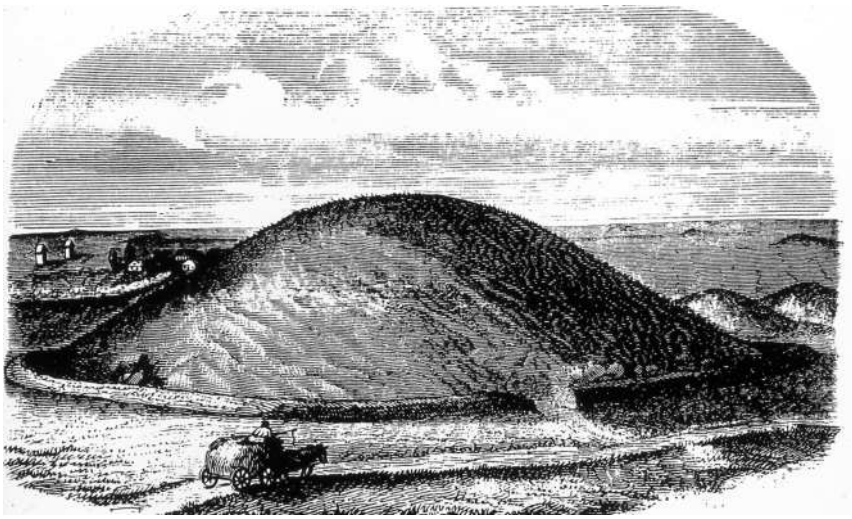

Figure 13.5 *Scythian kurgan near Alexandropol, Ukraine. Height c. 21 m. Depiction from the nineteenth century (Rolle 1980: 20).*

Don (Mozolevskij 1972; 1979). The name Tolstaya Mogila means 'broad tomb': it is a huge kurgan with a central tomb as well as lateral burial sites. The tumulus, which was excavated in 1971, is the northernmost mound of a group of about twenty kurgans. The turf covering the Tolstaya Mogila had been brought from a distance. The many animal bones in its surrounding moat bear witness to funeral celebrations of considerable extent, such as can be read of in Herodotus' accounts (Herodotus, IV.71–3). The remaining burial offerings from the central tomb allow of the reconstruction of the burial of a magnificently armed king (Fig. 13.6). His rich arms consist of an iron scale cuirass, four quivers, bronze greaves, a belt, a short sword and at least four spears; he further held a mace-shaped sceptre. An amphora and a silver bowl, both works of the late fourth century BC, were found in a lateral chamber. Aside from the weapons the central tomb held vessels made from gold, silver and bronze, as well as the pectoral. With this dating to a period between 330 and 300 BC, we are in the time of Alexander the Great and his immediate successors.

The lateral tombs contain horse graves (six horses), skeletons of servants (three grooms among others), and the graves of the queen and of a two-year-old child. These lateral graves were discovered in an undisturbed state, the main tomb having of course been looted by grave robbers. By chance, the grave robbers had overlooked the golden pectoral, which lay in a corner of the dromos leading to the main chamber. The dead queen wore a twisted golden torque weighing 478.5 g. This is similar to the Celtic tradition of the early La Tène period, where torques appeared as an attribute of women.

Figure 13. 6 *Scythian king from the Tolstaya Mogila. Reconstruction. Late fourth century* BC *(Rolle 1980: 17).*

Pectoral/*peritrachelion:* the neck ornament of the Scythian king

The pectoral (Mozolevskij 1979: 281) was a 'parade' ornament of the deceased (Fig. 13.7). It had no real protective value, as the deceased wore an iron scale cuirass. Even if we retain here the traditional term 'pectoral', it is worth noting that it is not really a breast ornament, but rather a gorget (*peritrachelion*).

There is one recorded example of a *peritrachelion* used as armour, from the life of Alexander the Great. At the battle of Gaugamela, Alexander wore a linen cuirass that he had won at Issos, as well as an iron gorget studded with gems (Plutarch, *Alexander* 12; Phaklares 1985); this is less closely parallel to the pectoral from the Tolstaya Mogila than it is to the so-called pectoral from the Great Tomb at Vergina, Macedonia (Andronicos 1984: 188) and other finds. The pectoral from the tomb at Vergina is made from leather, iron and gilded silver. The decoration is comprised of five zones of different length. Amidst all the floral motifs, the four larger and two smaller medallions hardly stand out. The analogies are with Bulgaria, from the region

Figure 13.7 *Pectoral from the Tolstaya Mogila. Gold. Diameter 306 mm. Weight 1150 g. Museum of Historical Treasures of the Ukraine, Kiev Inv. AZS-2494. Photo: RGZM T 91-1111.*

settled by the Thracians (Archibald 1985). As in the case of the *gorytos*, the ornamental quiver, we find here a document linking Macedonia with its northern neighbours. The *peritrachelion* was, like the *gorytos*, not a type of armour that can be further traced in Hellenistic weaponry. It was devised as a complement to the cuirass, but fell out of use. Even Alexander's example did not help to establish it, presumably because it provided too little protection in proportion to its extravagance.

A feature of the Tolstaya Mogila pectoral (see Fig. 13.7) is its composition of four torques, encompassing three lunula-shaped zones. The torque is a type which had most likely been imported from the west, from the region settled by the Celts. The pectoral, on the other hand, has a long oriental tradition; it was a common art form in pharaonic Egypt (Feucht-Putz 1967), as well as in the Near East (Wartke 1990). In the case of the Scythians, however, the pectoral is derived less from ancient oriental precursors than from examples from Thrace and Macedonia (Archibald 1985). Among the Scythians the pectoral enjoyed strangely little success overall, despite being well suited to ornamental display, as the Thracian and Macedonian finds prove. Previously, the pectoral from the

Bolshaya Bliznitsa kurgan (Kondakof et al. 1891: fig. 81; Artamonov 1969: fig. 295) was the most outstanding example from Scythia. It is related to the Tolstaya Mogila specimen, but not identical in its composition. Its single frieze shows scenes of rural life. The figures seem to be stiffer; between the animals, stylised blossoming plants are visible, among them poppy seedpods. The crescent shape of both pieces from the Tolstaya Mogila and the Bolshaya Bliznitsa indicates their amuletic nature. The lunula (crescent moon) was an amuletic shape used in all epochs of antiquity. The Scythians could have encountered crescent-shaped pectorals during their early Asian campaigning in Urartu; there the apotropaic lunula was the most common form of pectoral (Wartke 1990: 148). The golden pectoral from Kosika (Drovničenko and Fedorov-Davydov 1993: 166), from the later Sarmatian era, is also crescent-shaped.

Blossoming life and menacing death

Greek cities often expressed their worldviews through the iconographic programmes of their great temples. The Athenians systematically emphasised the role of their founder-hero Theseus as benefactor to humankind, by displaying his accomplishments alongside those of Heracles, the paragon of Greek heroism, as seen at the Athenian Treasury at Delphi and the temple of Hephaistus ('Theseion') in Athens. The iconographic programmes of the sculptures of the Parthenon of Athens, and of the decoration of the statue of Athena Parthenos, were extensive testimonies to Athenian opinions on the supremacy of the gods and on the political hegemony of Athens. The Scythians, on the other hand, speak to us only through the wealth of art from their tombs, be it of Scythian or Greek origin.

The golden pectoral from the Tolstaya Mogila is one of the most beautiful pieces of ancient jewellery. This ornamental piece, weighing 1,150 g in fine gold and with a diameter of 30.5 cm, was engraved by hand, not cast. There is no granulation, but both beaded wire and enamel can be seen. In many places the traces of enamel are still visible, for example on the florals of the middle frieze. The discernible traces are only of green, but there were certainly other colours as well. The pectoral has been subject to a series of interpretations during the last decades (an overview of the first twenty-five years was given in Fornasier 1997, with the latest account in Meyer 2013: 211–12, 216–18). Some researchers have already made reference to the Scythian worldview, as well as other iconographic aspects (Raevskij 1978; Mancevič 1980; Bosi 1993; Schiltz 1994: 59–62; Metzler 1997). The pectoral displays a well-considered iconic programme and, even though it is entirely a product of Greek craftsmanship, the contents and meaning of such an expensive piece of work were without doubt discussed with the client in advance, if not personally, then by messenger. At least one messenger who had the king's trust has to have approved of the content – unless we wish to assume that the Greek goldsmith himself travelled to the Scythians, which is improbable but cannot be completely ruled out. So what we see before us is the worldview of a wealthy Scythian

king of the fourth century BC, from the lower reaches of the Borysthenes river (Dnieper) in the Scythian steppe.

We see such a work of art with our own eyes, and we strive to see it from the point of view of an educated Greek of Alexander's era. While this is difficult enough, it is nearly impossible to adopt the point of view of a Scythian king of that time. We can only try to construct an image that matches the literary and archaeological evidence.

But let us first look at what is depicted (Fig. 13.7 above and Fig. 13.8): three motifs appear in the sections between the torques. The pectoral shows us the three circles of the world:

- in the upper zone, thriving humans and animals on earth;
- in the middle zone, thriving plants and birds on earth;
- and finally in the lower zone, the motifs of strife and death on earth.

The middle zone is mounted on a background representing the earth seen from above; the other two friezes are composed of relief-like tableaux, displaying them in front of an imaginary background of thin air. This change of perspective has to be taken consciously into account.

The upper section displays flourishing human and animal life on a peaceful earth. Arranged, on each side, around the central tableau with the golden fleece (see Fig. 13.9 below) are a horse and foal, and a cow and calf. Next on each side is one sheep, shown either while being milked or having just been milked; finally there are a billy goat and kid, and

Figure 13.8 *Pectoral from the Tolstaya Mogila (cf. Figure 13.7). Middle section. Photo: RGZM T 91-1117.*

two birds – a duck on the left side (seen from the front), and a dove on the right side. This means that the upper section shows the entirely real wealth of the land, in horses, cattle and other domestic animals; in this context the golden fleece in the central tableau can be interpreted as a symbol for wealth, but it can also simply mean: Look, this is the gold we can receive in exchange for all this. The fact that the two bearded Scyths in the fleece scene are not merely the only warriors depicted, but have also discarded their quivers, further emphasises the non-military character of the pectoral. The wealth of Scythia is clearly based on animal husbandry, on horse-breeding, herds of cattle, sheep and small livestock. There is no indication of agriculture.

The middle section displays brilliant ornamental vines on a background of gold. Its real background can be seen symbolically: here is the verdant earth, above which peaceful creatures live in harmony, and below which lies, allegorically seen, the realm of death.

There are parallels to the ornamental vines of the middle section from southern Italy, that is, Magna Graecia, but also in Macedonia (Pfrommer 1982: 157–9). From his familiarity with the world of the Scythians, it is likely that the artist was a goldsmith from the Cimmerian Bosporus. Certainly, he has adopted foreign artistic ideas with ease.

The absence of any deities is conspicuous. That applies not only to the Tolstaya Mogila pectoral, but in general to Scythian and Greek art from Scythian tombs. A rare exception is an anonymous vine-goddess, whose body may be turning either into vines or into wings (Bolshaya Bliznitsa kurgan; Piotrovsky et al. 1987: fig. 208); other images show serpents, griffin heads and dragon-like creatures growing out of the goddess (Kul-Oba kurgan; Bolshaya Tsymbalka kurgan; Piotrovsky et al. 1987: figs. 144, 203). Here a legend of Heracles was surely the inspiration: in Scythia Heracles met a serpent-woman, a creature composed of a woman's torso on a serpent's lower body (Herodotus, IV.9–10); and he, who fought and vanquished all monsters in Hellas and the lands between the Atlantic and the Orient, behaved quite differently in the north: he did not kill the serpent-woman but fathered three sons with her: Agathyrsos, Gelonos and the youngest, Skythes, whom the Scythians regarded as their ancestor.

According to this the Scythians were, after the Greek version, descendants of a half-serpent entity from the age of the Titans, comparable to the Greek Echidna, and of their greatest hero Heracles. Otherwise, the world of the Scythian gods remains obscure for lack of depictions, and because we only know of them through the *interpretatio graeca* (Herodotus, IV.59): Hestia (Scythian Tabiti), Zeus (Papaios), Ge (Api), Apollo (Goitosyros), Aphrodite Urania (Argimpasa), Ares, Poseidon (Thagimasadas) and Heracles. No Scythian name for Heracles has been passed on to us. Only the Scythian war-god, of whom we only know his Greek name of Ares, was worshipped in effigy: but he was depicted not anthropomorphically, but in the form of an *acinaces*, or iron sword, fetish (Herodotus, IV.62).

The beneficial work of the gods unfolds on the pectoral in the upper zone in the form of thriving animals. All the birds in the central zone are,

to Greek eyes, the doves of Aphrodite. The Dionysian and Aphrodisian tendrils, as a Greek may have seen them, symbolise the blossoming of nature, endlessly renewing itself.

A tableau of two Scythians with a fleece (Fig. 13.9) forms the centre of the upper section:

> In the central scene two men are sewing a sheep-fleece garment; they are pulling the sleeves taut. At the bottom of the fleece vertical stripes or grooves are visible, and there is a collar at the top. In the left Scythian's right hand a curved needle or an awl can be seen. In the right hand of the right Scythian there is a tool (needle, awl) similar to that of the left Scythian. Their trousers have been tucked into their soft shoes.

Thus Mozolevskij describes the central scene of the upper section (Mozolevskij 1979: 291).

The (golden) fleece between the two bearded Scythians is a direct reference to a gold-bearing land. Ukraine and the lands north of the Black Sea in general have no gold deposits of their own, even though modern book titles and exhibitions give the impression that 'gold' and 'Scythians' are an inseparable unity (a selection of titles: Akišev 1983; Artamonov 1970; Chazanov 1975; Gold der Skythen 1984; 1993; L'or des Scythes 1991;

Figure 13.9 *The golden fleece. Pectoral from the Tolstaya Mogila (cf. Figure 13.7). Central scene from the upper section. Two Scythians with a golden fleece. Photo: RGZM T 91-1148.*

Or des Scythes 1975; Rolle et al. 1991; Schiltz 2001; Seipel 1993; 2009). The Scythians obtained their gold abroad. Literary sources and archaeological evidence point to three regions from which the Scythians could obtain gold, though we can never know for sure whether by trade or by war (Rolle 1980: 52–3):

- Transylvania and the Carpathian Mountains region: the land of the Agathyrsians;
- Colchis: the gold of the Caucasus Mountains; and
- Central Asia: Kazakhstan and the Altai Mountains region.

We have direct accounts of the extraction of river gold with animal hides from Colchis: Strabo (XI.2, 19) and Appian (*Mithridatic Wars* 103) tell how gold was extracted from gold-bearing rivers by making the water run over fleeces, where the gold settled. Thus the 'golden fleeces' of the Colchians were created (Rolle 1980: 53; Uruschadse 1987; Lordkipadnidze 2001). Martial mentions the trapping of gold with fleeces in Spain (9, 61 and 12, 98), and his passing reference to the matter tells us that his educated readership in the capital was familiar with such things. In the Caucasus Mountains, river gold was still extracted this way in the nineteenth century (for a map of ancient gold deposits in Georgia, see Lordkipadnidze 2001: 27, fig. 12).

In the central tableau of the upper frieze two unarmed Scythians – their quivers have been discarded – are working on a fleece (see Fig. 13.9). They are pulling threads out of it and a piece of golden wire leading to the Scythian on the left has broken off; it can be assumed that they are holding one of the famous Caucasian golden fleeces. Both of them are bare to the waist. If we read the scene in ancient fashion from left to right, the Scythian at the left, who is wearing a headband, is in an advantageous position; his *gorytos* hangs above, poised directly in the middle over the golden fleece, and so is superior to the other man's *gorytos*, which lies on the ground.

Against this interpretation as an image of a golden fleece, it has been argued that the rivers in Ukraine bore no gold (Brentjes 1994). The scene, however, does not show how the fleece is submerged into a gold-bearing river, but instead shows how gold is pulled from an (imported) fleece. Braund considers this interpretation to be a modern projection (Braund 1994: 24), but if ancient sources like Strabo and Appian speak of it, the tradition can be believed. The Celts used pans and fleeces to collect gold from rivers, for example among the Helvetii (Hofmann 1991). Otherwise, the depiction of the two Scythians is to be interpreted as symbolic, given that the gold was probably delivered from the Caucasus in processed form; at the most, it is conceivable that one of the famed golden fleeces was sent to Scythia as a gift with one of the normal deliveries of gold traded for horses and grain.

The third zone shows the underworld, strife and death, and the mythological world of the Asian griffins. The central part consists of three tableaux of three figures each, two griffins and one horse (see Fig. 13.8 above). With these three horses, then, more valuable animals die than are born anew in form of the two foals in the upper zone.

To the right of the three griffin tableaux is a group of a panther, a boar and a lion; the corresponding tableau on the left consists of a lion and a panther with a stag. These are artificial scenes, as there were neither lions nor panthers in the Scythian homeland. In each corner, a hound hunts a hare. The corners of the upper zone show domesticated nature in the form of geese, kids and so forth, and in the lower zone wild nature, in the form of hares and locusts. Hares were the Scythians' principal game; hunting hares was the highest form of recreational exercise among the Scythians (Herodotus, IV.134; Ebert 1921: 16; Rolle 1980: 106), which in turn emphasises the role of the hunters' mounts.

Tableaux of fighting animals or griffins symbolise the power of nature, fighting and death. Adapted from the Orient as a symbol of power, animal fighting scenes were a major motif in Greek art from the beginning. Especially in respect of the griffins, this makes an allusion not only to death, but also to the Hyperborean Apollo, that is, to the north, the Arimasps, the Hyperboreans and Central Asia. When considering depictions of animals, we have to keep in mind that the animal style is one of the special achievements of Scythian art, and that the shamanistic Scythians held animals in high regard, as game or livestock and also as bearers of divine powers.

The griffin motif (Flagge 1975) united Greeks and Scythians. Central Asia, with the gold deposits of the Altai Mountains and Siberia, was the fabled golden land, and the gold was guarded by griffins (the 'dogs of Zeus': Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 803). Placed between the gold-griffins and the historically attested tribes of Scythians and Sauromatae was the mythical people of the Arimasps, who were time and again depicted in battle with griffins. The Scythians, as well as the Greeks, were familiar with this motif. The attacking griffins are therefore as much a symbol of death as of the god Apollo, who was in addition the most revered deity in the Greek cities of the northern Black Sea coast (Ebert 1921: 272).

In central Asia the one-eyed Arimasps, a mythical Asian tribe of nomads (Herodotus, IV.27), tried to win the gold from the griffins. The fight between Arimasps and griffins was a motif of Bosporan as well as of Tarentine funerary art (Wiesner 1963). There, gold no longer played a role, any more than on the sepulchral vases from southern Italy that also show griffins (or griffins fighting Arimasps). The griffin tableaux from the Tolstaya Mogila can be interpreted as a funerary motif in the Greek fashion, but equally as an allusion to the Asiatic gold deposits. The griffins are slaying Scythian horses, not bulls or cervids, as elsewhere in Greek art. This paraphrases the Asian Arimasps' fight against the griffins. Griffins that slay horses are otherwise rare in Greek art. They only appear on a few other examples of gilded Tarentine appliqués (Lullies 1962: 74, see also pl. 26, 3).

Greek artists had also adopted the custom of depicting the Arimasps not as one-eyed monsters, but as Iranians, or almost as Scythians (Kondakof et al. 1891: fig. 66). To maintain the elegance of the depiction, but also to avoid affecting the figural dominance of the real Scythians in the upper section, the goldsmith has transformed the mythical Arimasps' fight against the griffins in Central Asia into animal combat scenes of griffins

against horses. At the same time, he has addressed one of the central subjects in the life of the Scythian horse-breeders of the lower Borysthenes.

In the corners on each side two locusts conclude the picture (Fig. 13.10). These insects are no cicadas; they are clearly migratory locusts. In Scythia, griffins were the mythical image for sudden death from the skies, and on the pectoral from the Tolstaya Mogila they are depicted as impressively as almost anywhere else. Real death from the sky came in the form of black swarms, and in the corners of the lower zone of the pectoral the real death dealers appear: migratory locusts. Locust invasions plunged farmers as well as horse-breeders into misfortune; the farmers' fields and gardens were stripped bare, the horse-breeders' animals died of hunger or diseases. The Scythians' horses, the pride of these peoples, may also have suffered from psychological damage. The Cossacks' horses in the seventeenth century found the migratory locusts disgusting:

> In the evening when they [i.e. the migratory locusts] rested for the night, they covered the roads as thick as four thumbs, so that the horses had to be whipped hard to walk over them; they pricked up their ears, snorted and lifted their hooves in great fear. When the wheels of our carts and the horses' hooves squashed these animals there rose a stench that was not only repugnant to the nose, but also unfavourable for the brain. (Le Vasseur 1780: [no page number], after the original text from 1650)

It is Apollo, the god of the lands of the Hyperboreans, who is invoked here, Apollo the plague-bringer, who had sent his arrows into the Greek encampment at Troy. But Apollo is also a healing god, who can end a

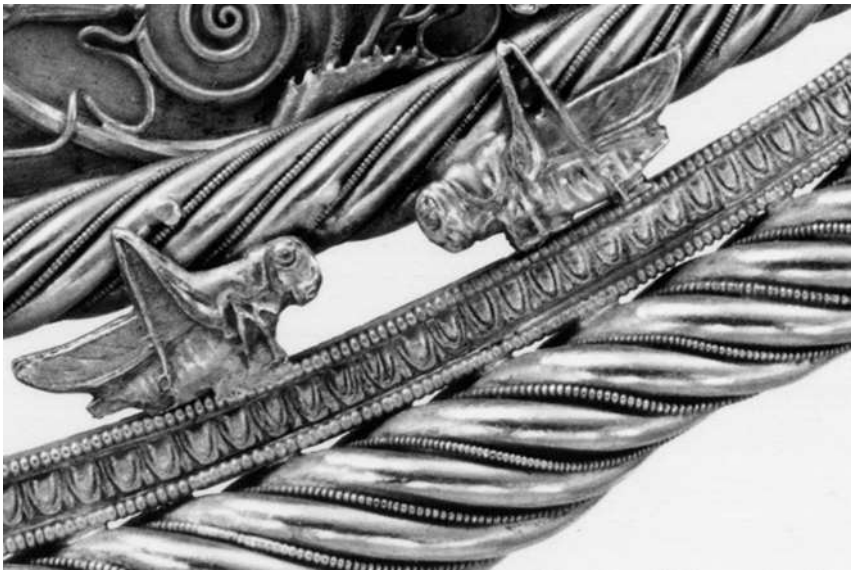

Figure 13.10 *Pectoral from the Tolstaya Mogila (cf. Figure 13.7). Locusts. Photo: RGZM T 91-1123, detail.*

plague and kill off plague-bearing pests like mice and rats, as well as the monsters of the air, the migrant locusts. In Athens he was called Apollo Parnopios (see Figs. 13.3 and 13.4 above), Apollo Parnopion in the Aeolis in north-western Asia Minor. We do not know under what name the Scythians invoked a god for protection against this threat. The Greek goldsmith devised the griffins as mythical murderers of the horses and placed the real enemies, the locusts, as a reminder at the margins of the picture.

On the silver amphora from the Chertomlyk kurgan (Kondakof et al. 1891: figs. 256/257; Piotrovsky et al. 1987: fig. 266), there are three tableaux akin to those on the Tolstaya Mogila pectoral: griffins killing cervids, the breeding and training of horses, vine tendrils with birds. It shows a similar view of the world. It was certainly made by a different craftsman. The Chertomlyk Master was a master of toreutics, but not identical with the Tolstaya Mogila Master (for a different opinion, see Rudolph 1991).

In the golden pectoral, some geographical allusions are visible to us modern archaeologists with our hermeneutically trained eyes. In this sense, the torque points towards the Celtic territory – to the west, as seen from the Tolstaya Mogila – the golden fleece towards the region of the Colchians in the south-east, and the griffins towards Central Asia in the Far East, the three main sources of gold outside Scythia. We cannot know for sure whether such an implication was intended by the Greek goldsmith or his Scythian client.

This unknown master craftsman, whom several modern authors call the greatest goldsmith of antiquity, supposedly lived in one of the Greek cities of Crimea or Ukraine. His vibrant style and intimate knowledge of the Scythian milieu are combined with elegance and precision in the details.

The neck ornament from the Tolstaya Mogila shows a cross-section of the Scythian universe: everyday life, blossoming nature and the realm of death are united with allusions to the gold and riches of the Scythian horse-breeders. The topic of war is completely neglected. The world offered wealth, offered herds as valuable as gold. The gods provided this gold, they provided wealth and fortune, and they could take it all away, with swarms of locusts that turned the pastures into deserts, with winged deadly monsters of the sky that even the fastest Scythian horse could not outrun.

The gods should never cease to bestow their blessings; this is expressed in the crescent-shape of the amulet, the lunula, which here takes on a monumental size. Human enemies are all but absent. The Scythian king from the Tolstaya Mogila hoped for large herds of livestock, for sheep, cattle and horses; he did not fear humans; he feared only death from the skies.

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14

The Idea of an Archetype in Texts Stemming from the Empire Founded by Cyrus the Great

Gregory Nagy

Introduction

The text of the so-called Cyrus Cylinder, as well as other writings that stem from the Persian Empire founded by Cyrus the Great, is based on the idea of an archetype. When I say *archetype* here, I have in mind a text that is meant as a model for other texts that serve as copies of this model. As we will see, the idea of such a model text does not necessarily match the reality of an original text that is copied.

What I just said seems at first to be self-evident, since the act of copying something does not require the copying of an original. What you are copying may already be a copy. But the very idea of an archetype is not self-evident. As I will argue, this idea goes beyond the reality of some text that someone copies for the first time in order to make another text, which can then be copied again to make still another text, and so on.

When I say *idea* here, I will try to keep in mind the Theory of Forms as expounded in Plato's *Republic* and elsewhere, since the original Greek word *idea* is the primary term used by Plato's Socrates for what we translate as *Form*. In terms of this theory, what is for us the real world is a mere copy of the ideal world of Forms, and, further, whatever we find in our world that we want to represent by way of picturing it in images or in words is a mere copy of a copy. So, if we applied Plato's Theory of Forms to the idea of an archetype, we would be speaking of an ideal text existing in an ideal world. And, in terms of my argument, the text of the Cyrus Cylinder was once upon a time considered to be such an ideal text, such an archetype.[1] Or, to say it from an anthropological point of view, the text of the Cyrus Cylinder was considered to be an archetype because it was meant to be a cosmic model that was absolutised by its ritualised meaning, lending its ritual authority to all copies made and used by the enforcers of the Persian Empire in a wide variety of situations.

Besides the text of the Cyrus Cylinder, another example that I will cite is the Bisotun Inscription. And, for a 'reality check', I will compare the contents of these two texts stemming from the Persian Empire with relevant reportage from the Greek historian Herodotus.

Before I can begin my argumentation, however, I need to explain briefly how I got interested in ideas about textual archetypes in the first place. It all started for me with Homeric poetry, which I have studied in many projects over the years. The textual history of this poetry, as I learned from my studies, needed to be analysed in the context of the oral traditions that shaped the compositions that we know as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. And such analysis led me to conclude that no archetype could be reconstructed for this poetry. I needed to reconcile such a conclusion, however, with a historical fact about the reception of Homeric poetry in the ancient Greek world. The fact is, the mythmaking about this poetry is based on the idea of a textual archetype, even if the reality of such an archetype is an impossibility. In the course of my research, I was able to show that this idea is mythologised in a variety of ancient Greek stories about a pre-Classical event known today as the Peisistratean Recension. In these variations on a theme of textual genesis, I found, an oral tradition was aetiologising itself as a written tradition that supposedly goes back to a unitary archetype.[2]

But I will not dwell on Homer and the Peisistratean Recension here. Instead, I concentrate on the very idea of a unitary archetype. A case in point is the *Rule* of Saint Benedict (Nagy 1996: 184, following Zetzel 1993: 103–4, following Traube 1910). The *Rule* was written down in the sixth century CE, and Benedict's manuscript was preserved at Monte Cassino by the Benedictine Order until 896 CE, when it was destroyed in a fire. An 'improved' version of the *Rule*, known as the *traditio moderna*, was evolving from the very inception of the text in the sixth century until the end of the eighth century. At that point, Charlemagne himself visited Monte Cassino and acquired a text copied from the original manuscript. This copy of the original *Rule*, which was much closer to the text as it originally existed in the sixth century, then became 'the basis for the diffusion of the text throughout the reformed monasteries of the Carolingian kingdom' (Zetzel 1993: 103). Ironically, however, 'the concern for the establishment of an accurate text led copyists to insert into the margins readings from the *traditio moderna*, thus recorrupting the text away from Benedict's original' (Zetzel 1993: 103).

From this example, where we do have historical evidence for the existence of an original text that was used for making copies of further texts, we can see that any original text, as a historical reality, is not necessarily the same thing as an archetype, which is an idea that drives the need for making copies.

The Cyrus Cylinder as a foundation deposit

That said, I can now begin with my argumentation, focusing on the text of the Cyrus Cylinder as a notional archetype. The text was written on an object shaped like a 'cylinder', and the object itself is an example of what archaeologists call a *foundation deposit*. From an archaeological point of view, a foundation deposit was an object meant to be deposited – and the place for such an act of depositing was the *foundation* of a

building. From the standpoint of Mesopotamian archaeology writ large, the object to be deposited was embedded either in the city wall or in the foundations of a particularly important building, which was generally a temple.[3] In the case of the object known as the Cyrus Cylinder, found in the nineteenth century at the ancient site of the great city of Babylon, the precise location of the original find cannot be ascertained, but the best guess is that this cylinder had been deposited within the temple-complex of Marduk, primary god of the Babylonians, or alternatively, inside the inner wall of the city; this guess is strongly supported by attestations of other Mesopotamian foundation deposits shaped like a 'cylinder' and featuring inscriptions parallel in content to the inscription written on the Cyrus Cylinder (Finkel 2013: 64–5).

So far, then, we have ascertained that the Cyrus Cylinder is a *foundation deposit* because it had been deposited as an object that served the purpose of a foundation. From an anthropological point of view, however, it is not enough to speak of this foundation as an *architectural* foundation of the inner wall of Babylon, or more specifically, of the sacred enclosure identified as the temple of Marduk in this city. There is more to it, much more. The depositing of the Cyrus Cylinder as a foundation deposit was thought to be the very act of foundation. Or, to say it more precisely, the act of depositing the Cyrus Cylinder as a foundation deposit was thought to be the very act of re-founding a foundation.

This way of thinking is made clear by the text of the inscription written into the surface of the Cyrus Cylinder. The text proclaims that the historical occasion for the depositing of this foundation deposit was the conquest of Babylon in 539 BCE by the king of the Persians, Cyrus the Great, and that this conquest was to be viewed as an act of *re-founding* the temple of Marduk, the chief god of the Babylonians. And why was there a need for a re-founding? The text of the Cyrus Cylinder gives an answer at lines 4–19. I paraphrase here: the temple of Marduk needed a re-founding, a restoration, because the rituals of worshipping this all-important god of Babylon had been supposedly abused by Nabonidus, the last native king of the Babylonians. At a later point, we will consider how Nabonidus abused Marduk. For now, I highlight only the god's reaction: according to the text, Marduk was so angered by the persistent abuse of his rituals by Nabonidus that he summoned Cyrus, king of the Persians, to overthrow the king of Babylon, to occupy the city, and to restore the correctness of the rituals of worship that the god required. Notionally, Marduk is the divine initiator of the entire narrative about the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus the Persian.

Then, starting at line 20 of the Cyrus Cylinder, the great king Cyrus himself is quoted as making a proclamation in the first person. He proclaims that he has enhanced the rituals and the buildings of Babylon. At line 38, it is specified that Cyrus 'strengthened' the inner wall of Babylon, named Imgur-Enlil, and, after further details at lines 39–41, the perspective of the proclamation starts to zoom in, as it were, on the spectacle of the temple of Marduk. Starting around lines 42 and 43, the text proceeds

to give details about the renovating of the temple. Unfortunately, the lines here are too fragmentary to allow any precise translation or interpretation, but the readable details are quite striking: mentioned at line 42 are doors made of cedar wood overlaid with bronze, and then, at line 43, the description goes on to boast about the installation of the doors, of threshold slabs, and of door fittings made of copper.

Here I go back for a moment to an earlier part of the proclamation on the Cyrus Cylinder, starting at line 38, where we see a description of restoration work done on the great inner wall, Imgur-Enlil: some have taken this description to include the details about doors and threshold slabs described in line 43 (for a reference to this view, see Finkel 2013: 26). In terms of my analysis here, however, the description of restoration work done on the inner wall comes to a close at line 41, and, starting at line 42, the details come from a focused description of restoration work done specifically on the temple of Marduk. The details of this description come to a close at line 43, followed by the words of a prayer to be spoken directly by Cyrus to the god Marduk at lines 44–5. The prayer is in turn followed by the signature of the scribe, whose name is, most appropriately, Qīšti-Marduk, which means 'Gift of Marduk'. On the basis of the overall contextual evidence, then, I maintain that the wording at lines 42 and 43 about the site that is being restored refers to the temple of Marduk.

In the context of lines 42 and 43 of the Cylinder, where the architectural restorations are being described, the text of the inscription goes on to say, in the first person, that Cyrus himself saw an inscription written on an earlier foundation deposit that was located within the space where the renovation was taking place. Here is a translation of the relevant wording: 'I saw within it an inscription of Assurbanipal, a king who preceded me.' This reference to Assurbanipal, the last great king of Assyria (685–627 BCE), acknowledges the historical fact that this earlier king had also occupied Babylon and had undertaken projects of restoring buildings in the city.[4] In terms of my analysis here, the wording that is translated as 'within it' in the Babylonian text refers specifically to the temple-complex of Marduk, not to the general area of the inner wall, as the site where the earlier foundation deposit of Assurbanipal was found and supposedly seen personally by Cyrus.

On the basis of what we have seen so far, the Cyrus Cylinder as a foundation deposit is linked not only to specific parts of the city wall but also to the temple of Marduk. As I will go on to argue, this foundation deposit is thus *sacralised* because it is connected to the sacred temple.

Sacral metonymy

The idea that an object can be sacralised by way of being connected to something that is sacred, like a temple, can be explained in terms of a rhetorical concept, metonymy. Here is my cross-cultural definition of this concept: *metonymy is an extension of meaning by way of physical or at least notional contact or connectivity* (Nagy 2013: 4§32, 5§102, 14§16,

14§27, 15§23, 18§15). When X makes contact with Y, then a part of the meaning of X can extend to the meaning of Y. So, when something that is inherently sacred makes contact with something else, then the sacredness can extend to that something else. Such an extension of sacredness, or sacralisation, is what I am calling *sacral metonymy*.

Within the framework of my interpretation so far, I am arguing that the wall of a city could be viewed as sacred to a god or goddess whose sacred space was contiguous with or even merely contained within this city wall. And then I will extend the interpretation: I will argue that, in terms of sacral metonymy, the foundation deposit for such a wall could be viewed as sacred as well.

I am well aware that this argument, as I develop it in the sections of the chapter that follow, may not sit well with specialists in Mesopotamian civilisations, for whom the term *sacred* tends to be restricted to contexts centring on temples of gods and on the gods to whom these temples notionally belong. That is why I use the term *sacralised* as well as *sacred*. What I mean by *sacralised* is that the viewing of any given object as sacred does not mean that this object must be *inherently sacred*. Rather, the object can be sacralised in special contexts where it makes contact with the sacred. Nor do I mean to say that anything we may describe as *sacred* cannot be at the same time *ideological* and even *practical*. In terms of my long-term argument, the function of a foundation deposit can be ideological and practical as well as sacred.

An example of sacral metonymy in the Gilgamesh narrative

For a point of comparison, I highlight an example of sacral metonymy in the text of the Gilgamesh narrative (my citations are based on the edition of George 2003). At the very beginning of the narrative, in Tablet I line 10, the text says that Gilgamesh wrote down on a stone tablet or stele the entire story of his labours or mystical sufferings; this foundational act of writing as notionally performed by Gilgamesh himself is then linked at line 11 with his foundational building of the wall of the city of Uruk and, at line 12, with the concurrent foundational act of his building the wall of Temple Eanna, described at line 16 as the sacred space of the goddess Ishtar.[5] At lines 13–14, the text tells its listeners to look at the wall of this temple of Ishtar, and, at line 15, to ascend the stairway at the wall.[6] Then, after describing at lines 16–17 the temple of Ishtar as an unequalled achievement in building monumental structures, the text at lines 18–19 tells its listeners to proceed from the temple to the city-wide wall of Uruk and to walk around up there, looking around. Described at lines 19–23 are the wonders to be seen inside this wall containing the city of Uruk, and the most wondrous sight of them all, at line 22, is of course the temple of Ishtar. By the time the reader reaches the end of the narrative, at lines 322–8 of Tablet XI, Gilgamesh himself has come back to Uruk and now invites his companion Ur-šanabi to ascend the city-wide wall to take a look at the same wondrous sights described at the beginning of Tablet I. 'In

this way,' it has been noted, 'Gilgamesh's story is rounded off by the very words that introduced it' (George 2003: I, 526).

The question is, what exactly is to be found there at the city wall of Uruk? In my interpretation, the answer is given by the text itself: there at the city wall, which is contiguous with the temple of Ishtar, is a foundation deposit that actually contains the text of the narrative of Gilgamesh.

To back up this interpretation, I start by highlighting what is said at line 19 of the inaugural narrative in Tablet I: here the text refers to a *temennu*, which is the Akkadian word for a platform of deposition (inherited from the Sumerian word *temen*).[7] As the Gilgamesh narrative proceeds, the text at line 24 instructs the listeners to find at this site a tablet box made of cedar. This box, described at line 25 as bound in clasps made of bronze, is then to be opened at line 26. Inside the box is a wondrous object: described at line 27, this object is a tablet made of lapis lazuli, and now at line 28 the text instructs its listeners to read out loud what is said in the inscription written on this tablet about all the mystical sufferings endured by Gilgamesh. So, in the mythological 'chicken-and-egg' mentality of this set of instructions, the words that listeners hear from the very beginning of the Gilgamesh narrative are the same words that they are now reading out loud after having opened the tablet box and having gazed upon the inscription written on the wondrous tablet made of lapis lazuli.[8]

We see here a *sacral metonymy* at work in the Gilgamesh narrative. First, *the function of the city wall is sacralised by way of its connectedness to the sacred function of the temple*. Then, the sacral metonymy extends further: *the tablet of lapis lazuli is sacralised, since it connects to the sacralisation of the wall where it was deposited*. Then, the sacral metonymy extends even further: *the sacralisation of the deposited tablet is connected to the sacralisation of the inscription written on it*. And now the words of the inscription can finally reveal to the reader the exalted meaning of an object that archaeologists classify by resorting to that colourless modern term, *foundation deposit*.

I see in the inaugural words of the Gilgamesh narrative a way of thinking that links the inauguration of this narrative with the sacralised function of a foundation deposit, which is to inaugurate a sacred building or a sacred re-building. As we can read in the historically transmitted text of this narrative, the words that inaugurate the text in Tablet I are picturing this text as an inscription written on a foundation deposit – on a tablet of lapis lazuli contained within a precious casket contained within a temple contained within the inner wall of a great city. And this tablet, as we have just seen, is inscribed with a text that notionally contains the entire Gilgamesh narrative writ large. If we follow the logic of its inaugural words, the entire Gilgamesh narrative thus mythologises itself as a foundation deposit.

But the question remains, what is the thinking that could actually motivate such an act of self-mythologising? My answer is simple: it is the same kind of thinking that motivates the very idea of a foundation deposit. Figured as an archetypal object, a foundation deposit needs to express itself in words

that are likewise archetypal. A comparable formulation applies in the case of the Gilgamesh narrative, which was notionally written by Gilgamesh himself and which is thus figured as an archetype: such an archetypal text needs wording that is likewise archetypal.

An Egyptian parallel

I cite here a parallel deriving from an historically unrelated context. It is a ritual object found at Tell el Yahudiya in Egypt. The object is a miniature model of a temple founded by Sety I, pharaoh of Egypt, who ruled in the era of the 19th Dynasty, around the early thirteenth century BCE. Only the model has survived, not the temple itself. And the question is, why was this miniature model a ritual object?

Before I answer this question, I highlight the fact that such a model was not merely an architectural model. The precious stones from which it was made do not correspond to the actual material used for the building of a temple, and, besides, the only part of the temple that the model represents is the façade.[9] That said, I return to the question, why was this miniature model a ritual object? And the answer is this: because such models were used as foundation deposits for temples, authenticating the ritual act of founding a temple (Badawy 1972: 7). So, this model of the temple founded by Sety I was a foundation deposit for that temple. And, just as the temple was sacred, so also the foundation deposit was sacred. For experts in Egyptian civilisation, I surmise, my use of the word *sacred* in this context would not be problematic.

In the case of this miniature model for the temple founded by Sety I, the rituals that were prescribed for the foundation of this temple were actually recorded on the surface of the model, and the recording takes the form of a text combined with pictures. The text, carved in sunken relief, combines with carved pictures to form a band of narrative extending along three of the four sides of the base that holds up the model (the fourth side was evidently flush with a wall) (Badawy 1972: 2–3, 10).

There is a wealth of further archaeological evidence, both texts and pictures, concerning the observance of such Egyptian rituals centring on the founding of a temple. One such ritual, the name for which can be translated 'To Present the House to Its Lord' in the Egyptian language, is pictured in relief sculptures adorning the outside walls of some temples, and such outside reliefs are understood to belong in a zone that is known in Egyptian as 'the Hall of Appearance' (documentation provided by Badawy 1972: 7). The presentation of the 'house' to its 'lord' was the finalising sacred act in the sacred procedural sequence of founding a temple, and the 'house' that is the temple of the god is conventionally pictured as the façade of the temple instead of the entire temple (Badawy 1972: 8). And it is such a façade that we see represented by the miniature model of the temple of Sety I: this model must have been used in the actual performance of the rituals of foundation, and these rituals are in fact recorded in the narrative that is carved into the surface of the three sides lining the base

of the model (Badawy 1972: 10). This narrative, both textual and pictorial, shows eight ritual scenes, and what these scenes reveal is a heavenly template that ideologically prefigures the temple – and that guides the soul along a trajectory that replicates the path of the sun in both the upper sky of daytime and the lower sky of night-time (Badawy provides an illuminating schematic illustration (1972: 16)).

In terms of my interpretation, then, there is a sacral metonymy at work here. The heavenly form of the model is connected to the text and to the pictures that adorn it, and this connection generates the archetypal meaning of this model as a foundation deposit.[10] Further, such a meaning is not only archetypal; it is also sacral.

Back to the Cyrus Cylinder

Returning to the text inscribed on the surface of the foundation deposit that we know as the Cyrus Cylinder, I argue that this text too has a *sacred* or at least a *sacralised* meaning, much like the text that was written at the base of the Egyptian model or, closer to home, like the imagined text that was written on the lapis lazuli tablet containing the Gilgamesh narrative. And the sacred meaning of such texts corresponds to the sacred meaning of the foundation deposits upon which the texts are written.

To take the argument further, just as the supposedly original text of the Gilgamesh narrative was seen as archetypal, inscribed on the precious stone surface of a tablet that supposedly became the model for all future copies of the Gilgamesh narrative, so also the text inscribed on the Cyrus Cylinder had a sacred or at least sacralised meaning that was archetypal in its own right.

Variations on a theme of copies and models

In the case of the Cyrus Cylinder, there is historical evidence showing that the text inscribed on its surface corresponds closely if not exactly to other texts disseminated throughout the Persian Empire of Cyrus. Fragments of a large, flat, oblong tablet housed in the British Museum reveal essentially the same wording that we find in corresponding parts of the Cyrus Cylinder, and it is evident that this particular tablet, unlike the Cyrus Cylinder, was not buried as a foundation deposit (Finkel 2013: 20). It has been argued, plausibly, that the text of such a tablet 'preceded' the text written on the Cyrus Cylinder, and, in general, that in each case where we see a match between the texts of cylinder inscriptions and 'flat' texts, 'the cylinder inscription would be copied from a "flat" master copy (and not from memory)' (Finkel 2013: 23). So now we need to confront a new question: was the text of the Cyrus Cylinder really a model, if in fact it was copied from a corresponding text written on a 'flat' tablet?

There are two sides to answering this question. One side is ideological, while the other side is practical. On the ideological side, we can say that the text of the Cyrus Cylinder was viewed as a model, an archetype, and

that all other texts were viewed as copies of this model. On the practical side, however, we need to allow for the physical difficulties of writing the text on a clay cylinder, since such difficulties would have necessitated the writing out of a pre-existing 'master' text that could then be copied into the cylinder. There is no 'intermediate' stage, textually. You go from the master text, which is more easily composed on a flat surface, and then you copy that into the cylinder. The text on the cylinder may pretend to be the master text, but it is not. So the text of the inscription written on the Cyrus Cylinder would not have been the real 'original' – from the standpoint of those who actually produced both the cylinder and the text inscribed on the cylinder. But the text written on the cylinder could still be viewed as an archetype from the standpoint of the ideology that drove the production of the cylinder in the first place.

Here I must introduce a general observation that affects the way we look at the making of copies of texts. *Any written transmission of words that are meant to be performed is subject to variation in both form and content*. This observation holds, as research in living performance traditions has shown, even in situations where the words have been written down in order to be read out loud in performance (as noted at the beginning, I have studied such situations (Nagy 1996)). In terms of the results achieved by way of such research, the relationship between copies and models becomes more difficult to ascertain. Also, we must allow for the possibility that a given model, used for copying, could have been a copy of an earlier model for copying. So, we can expect situations where no archetype can be empirically ascertained – only copies, or copies of copies.

But here is where the inner logic of myth and ritual can decide what is archetypal and what is not. That is what we saw in the text at the very beginning of Tablet I of the Gilgamesh narrative, where this narrative figures itself as the archetype of a sacred core of narrative, which comes to life each time a copy of it is read out loud to its listeners. And that is also what we see in the narrative of the Cyrus Cylinder, which figures itself as an archetype that communicates its own fixed message by way of copies that were notionally derived from it.

I argue, then, that the text of the Cyrus Cylinder authenticates itself by claiming to be a sacred archetype, and its archetypal sacredness is guaranteed, ideologically, in three ways:

1. by the sacredness of the site in which it is embedded,
2. by the sacredness of the object itself, and
3. by the sacredness of the wording that is written on the surface of the object.

From the standpoint of myth and ritual, the deposited text of the Cyrus Cylinder is so sacred that it should not even be seen, once it is in place, except by the sacred cosmic powers that receive the archetype and are archetypal in their own right. From a practical standpoint, I could add, the act of depositing the text of the Cyrus Cylinder would keep it safe from the depredations of the profane.

Authenticating the text and the speaker of the text

The self-authentication of the text of the Cyrus Cylinder extends to the first-person speaker of the text, who is figured as Cyrus himself. Cyrus too is authenticated by the sacredness of the archetype. Conversely, any rival claimant to the kingship claimed by the king must be a mere copy and not the original – not the real thing. That is why the son of Nabonidus, Belshazzar, who was in charge of Babylon as a representative of his father at the time of the city's capture by Cyrus, is described by the text of the Cyrus Cylinder as a 'counterfeit' king of the Babylonians. I quote here directly from the text:

> . . . *ta*]*m-ši-li u-ša-áš-ki-na se-ru-šu-un*
>
> he [= Nabonidus] set a counterfeit [= Belshazzar] over them [= the Babylonians] (Cyrus Cylinder, line 4)

Moreover, even the temple of Marduk had been supposedly 'counterfeit' before the sacred space of the temple, named Esagil, was restored by Cyrus. I quote again directly from the text of the Cyrus Cylinder, where the claim is made that Nabonidus had made a 'counterfeit' temple:

> *ta-am-ši-li é-sag-il i-te-*[*pu-uš-ma* . . .]
>
> he [= Nabonidus] made a counterfeit for Esagil (Cyrus Cylinder, line 5)

The negative rhetoric of this declaration makes it seem as if Esagil, that is, the temple of Marduk as maintained by Belshazzar representing Nabonidus, was not even the same building as the Esagil that Cyrus claims to have restored. There are comparable claims about such a falsification of Esagil in another cuneiform text, the so-called *Verse Account* of the reign of Nabonidus: at column ii, lines 11–18, of that text, Nabonidus the last king of the Babylonians is accused of tampering with the sacred architecture and adornments of Esagil, mentioned by that name at line 15, and this accusation is framed in the context of references to the king's neglect of the New Year Festival, as at line 11, and of his privileging the divinity Sīn over the divinity Marduk, as at column i lines 23 and 25 and at column v lines 11 and 22.

In translating the Akkadian word *tamšilu* as 'counterfeit' in the text of the Cyrus Cylinder, I am following the interpretation of Irving Finkel (2013: 4–5). I should note, however, that there is some ambiguity in play here, since this word means ordinarily 'likeness, image, copy'. Similarly with Plato's Theory of Forms: a copy of the ideal, achieved by way of *mīmēsis*, comes under suspicion as something that is potentially counterfeit.

The meaning 'counterfeit' has to be inferred from the context of the Cyrus Cylinder, the text of which accuses Nabonidus of falsifying the temple of Marduk – just as he allegedly falsifies his own kingship by setting up his son Belshazzar as a counterfeit king of Babylon. Such a false king is presented as a foil for Cyrus as the authentic king in charge of caring for the god Marduk and for the god's temple. By caring for Marduk, Cyrus as

the self-proclaimed authentic king makes the temple of this god authentic as well, in contrast to the counterfeit king who had cared badly for the god and, by extension, for the god's temple, thus making the temple itself a counterfeit site, as we saw in the wording of the declaration I quoted from line 5 of the Cyrus Cylinder. In subsequent wording at lines 6–8, as we have already noted, the text of the cylinder goes on to say that the temple of Marduk needed a re-founding, a restoration, since the rituals of worshipping this god had been supposedly abused by Nabonidus. According to the text, as we have seen, the god Marduk was so angered by the persistent abuse of his rituals that he summoned Cyrus, king of the Persians, to overthrow the king of Babylon and to occupy the city, so that Cyrus could proceed to restore the correctness of the rituals of worship that the god required.

Following up

So far, then, I have made two major points about the Cyrus Cylinder. The first point is that the text of the inscription written on the surface of the cylinder presents itself as an archetype that authenticates the kingship of Cyrus, thereby legitimising it. Such an archetype, as I have been arguing from the start, is viewed as a cosmic model that is absolutised by its sacredness, lending its sacred authority to all copies made and used by the enforcers of the Empire in a wide variety of situations. And the second point I have been making about the Cyrus Cylinder is that the act of legitimising the king by way of an archetypal text has the effect of simultaneously delegitimising any potential rival kings, declaring such rivals to be counterfeit, fake. As I indicated at the beginning, I will now follow up by citing another example of such a notionally archetypal text that legitimises the king and delegitimises any potential rival kings.

The Bisotun Inscription as an archetype

The text I have in mind is written in three languages: Elamite, Babylonian and Old Persian. It is a set of cuneiform inscriptions combined with a set of relief sculptures – all carved into a vertical limestone surface near the top of a towering mountain located in the region of Kermanshah in Iran. This mountain is named *Bisotun* in the Kurdish and in the Persian languages. The name, I must emphasise, is derived from the Old Persian form *Bagastāna*, which means, literally, 'the place of the gods'. The entire trilingual set of inscriptions carved into the rock face of Mt Bisotun is commonly known today as the Bisotun Inscription, and this is how I will refer to it from here on.

The Bisotun Inscription proclaims, in the three languages of its text, the victories of Darius I, king of kings, over his enemies, all of whom threatened his rule as king of the Persian Empire. The proclamation is delivered in the first person, and the relief sculptures that accompany the inscription

complement with their own visual narrative the verbal narrative of the text. Both narratives, the verbal and the visual, link each one of the king's victories with the defeat of nine of the enemy kings who threatened his own kingship. The major part of the narrative covers historical events that took place in the years 522 and 521 BCE. A minor part of the narrative extends accretively into later years, down to a date that may be as late as 518 BCE, concerning a victory of Darius over a tenth enemy king, and, in the ensemble of relief sculptures, the abject figure of this king is correspondingly added to the comparably abject figures of the nine other defeated enemy kings. I present a line drawing of the Bisotun Inscription, showing the placements of the texts and of the sculpted figures (Fig. 14.1).

Like the inscription written on the Cyrus Cylinder, which was meant to become inaccessible to the human eye after the cylinder was set in place as a foundation deposit, the Bisotun Inscription was deliberately cut off from the view of mortals. This cut-off must have happened sometime after 518 BCE or so, that is, after all the text and all the accompanying relief sculptures had been carved into the sheer surface of the mountainside. When I say 'cut-off', I mean that any human access to the text and to the

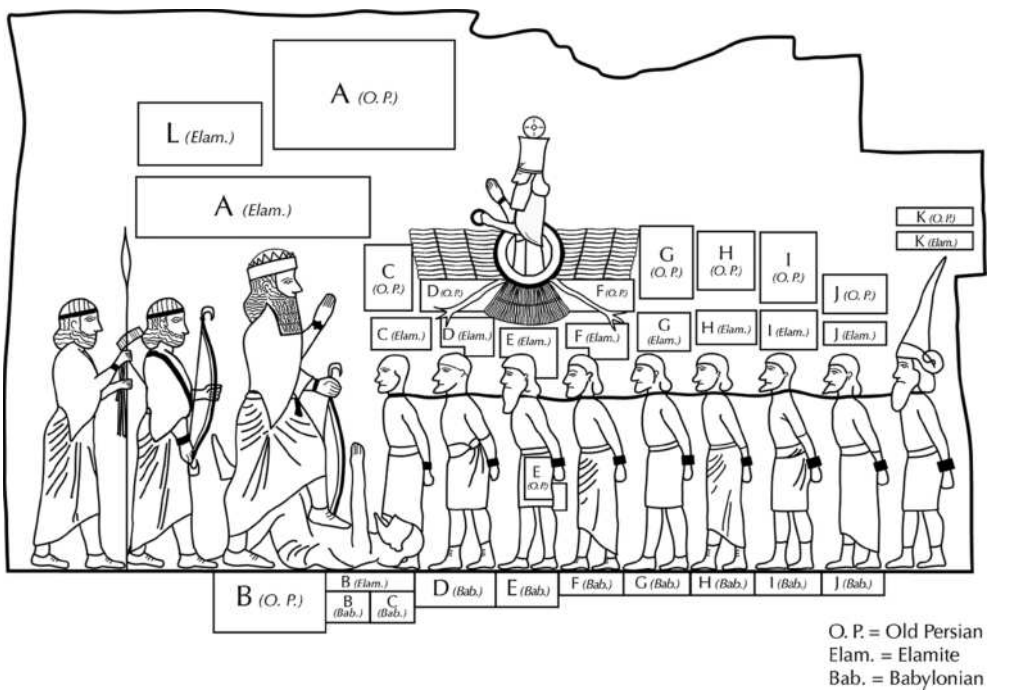

Figure 14.1 *The Bisotun relief, position of the inscriptions.*
Drawing by Jill Curry Robbins, after L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistûn in Persia (London, 1907) and A. Kuhrt, The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period, vol. 1 (London and New York, 2007).

accompanying images was thereafter made impossible. Some time after the work of carving the inscriptions and the relief statues had been completed, the stairway leading up to the carvings was deliberately removed, and the path that led to the stairway along the cliff was deliberately sheared off. So, until modern times, there was simply no human access to the Bisotun Inscription and to its accompanying reliefs.

The inaccessibility of the Bisotun Inscription must be analysed in the context of its self-declared function. In the words of the Old Persian text of this inscription, at paragraph §70, the contents of the text were meant to be copied on clay tablets or on parchment and then disseminated throughout the Persian Empire. The importance of this paragraph and of the entire Old Persian text has been carefully analysed by Rahim Shayegan, and I will follow closely his analysis as I develop my argumentation.[11]

What I will argue is this: the text of the Bisotun Inscription figures itself as an archetype, a model, and the transcripts of this model are understood to be copies. And there are in fact attestations of copies. For example, parts of the text of the Bisotun Inscription have been found inscribed on free-standing stelae excavated at Babylon. The language of these inscriptions is Babylonian, matching one of the three languages in which the text of the Bisotun Inscription is written (Shayegan 2012: 157).

Also, a fragment of the text of the Bisotun Inscription has been found written into a papyrus excavated in Upper Egypt and dated to the fifth century BCE. In this case, however, the language of the text is Aramaic, not Elamite or Babylonian or Old Persian, which are the three languages featured in the text of the Bisotun Inscription (Shayegan 2012: 157; see also Skjærvø 2005: 54). So the question arises, how can the Aramaic version be a copy of the model? Also, there is a larger question here when we consider the fact that the Elamite and the Babylonian and the Old Persian versions of the text are not the 'same', either.

As we saw in the case of the Cyrus Cylinder, there are two sides to answering such a larger question. Here too, in the case of the Bisotun Inscription, one side of the answer is ideological, while the other side is practical. On the ideological side, we can say that the text of the Bisotun Inscription was intended to be a model, an archetype, and that the other texts were copies of this model. On the practical side, however, we need to allow once again for the possibility that the model text may have been a copy of a pre-existing 'master' text, and that the text of the Bisotun Inscription may not have been the real 'original' – from the standpoint of those who actually produced the inscription and the accompanying relief sculptures. And, once again, the observation applies: any written transmission of words that are meant to be *performed* is subject to variation in both form and content. This observation, as I have already noted, applies even in situations where no archetype can be empirically ascertained – only copies, or copies of copies.

But here, once again, is where the inner logic of myth and ritual can decide what is archetypal and what is not. As in the case of the inscription written on the surface of the Cyrus Cylinder, the Bisotun Inscription

figures itself as an archetype that communicates its own fixed message by way of copies that were notionally derived from it.

As before, in the case of the Cyrus Cylinder, I can now offer a comparable formulation in the case of the Bisotun Inscription: the text of this inscription authenticates itself by claiming to be a sacred archetype, and its archetypal sacredness is guaranteed, ideologically, by the sacredness of the site where the inscription is made, by the sacredness of the carvings that produce the cuneiform inscription and its accompanying sculptural reliefs, and by the sacredness of the wording that is written in the inscription. From the standpoint of myth and ritual, the text of the Bisotun Inscription should not even be seen, once it is in place, except by the sacred cosmic powers that receive the archetype and are archetypal in their own right.

So, the Bisotun Inscription legitimates itself by way of its self-presentation as a sacred archetype, as a heavenly model that achieves its heavenliness by cutting itself off irreversibly from the world of mortals. The inaccessibility of the Bisotun Inscription is what guarantees, from the perspective of myth and ritual, the authenticity of its text as a model for copies that circulate far and wide throughout the world of the Persian Empire. And the authenticity claimed by this text is linked to the authenticity of the king who is quoted as speaking in the text.

By legitimising itself through its inaccessibility, this text also legitimises its copies. Knowing that the copies are copies of a sacred text that is inaccessible makes the copies sacred too – even if their sacredness may be of a lower order. After all, these copies are now the only way to have any access to the sacred archetype (I owe this formulation to Peter Machinist, personal communication).

True kings and false kings

In the text of the Bisotun Inscription, we see a stark contrast between the authentication of Darius as king of the Persian Empire and the de-authentication of ten enemy kings who were defeated and killed by him. Foremost among these enemy kings is Gaumāta the magus, as he is called in the text of the Bisotun Inscription. This text humiliates as well as demonises Gaumāta, and the verbal abuse extends to visual abuse in the accompanying relief sculpture, where he is pictured at the moment when he is about to be punished by Darius for daring to claim kingship over the Persian Empire. In the relief sculpture, we see the evil magus Gaumāta lying flat on his back and abjectly awaiting his execution. Standing over him is the victorious Darius, who triumphantly plants his foot on his defeated enemy's chest (Fig. 14.2).

Of all the ten kings defeated and killed by Darius, I concentrate here on this enemy king Gaumāta because of a striking similarity I see between him and the so-called 'counterfeit' king defeated by Cyrus in the narrative of the Cyrus Cylinder. As we recall from that narrative, Nabonidus the king of Babylon had set up his son Belshazzar as a 'counterfeit' ruler of the city,

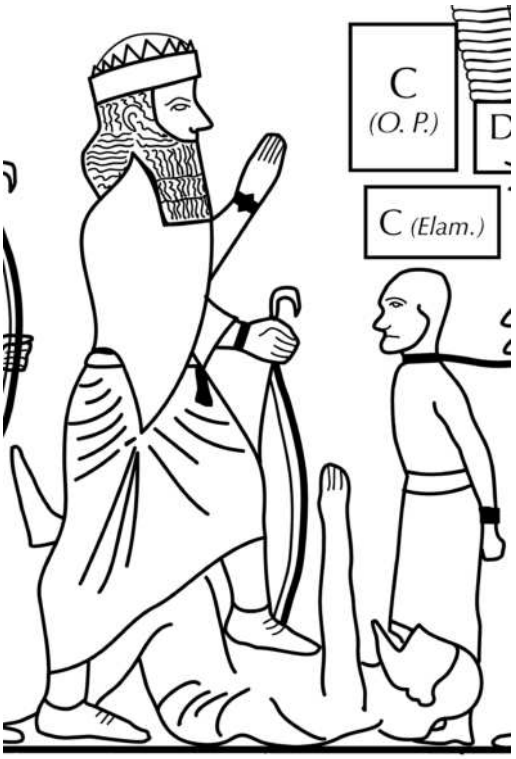

Figure 14.2 *The Bisotun relief, detail: the victorious Darius.*

and this act of setting up a false king was linked with the pollution of the rituals of worshipping Marduk, the chief god of the Babylonians.

Similarly in the case of Gaumāta as a false king in the narrative of the Bisotun Inscription, his threat to the rule of Darius is treated as a stylised pollution – or let us call it desecration – of the whole Persian Empire. The text of paragraph §14 of the Old Persian inscription makes it explicit: Gaumāta, pretending to be Bardiya the brother – and thus the legitimate heir – of the king Cambyses, was desecrating the empire by abusing sacred places and rituals, and then, after Darius finally succeeded in killing Gaumāta, which happened on 29 September 522 BCE, the successful king was now able to undo the desecration by initiating a programme of restoring sacred places and rituals throughout the empire; and this programme of religious restoration, as the text proudly declares, restored simultaneously the prosperity and even the fertility of the land (see the translation and commentary of Shayegan 2012: 127).

I focus on an antithesis we see built into the Old Persian narrative here. On the one hand, caring for sacred places and rituals is the mark of an authentic king, while not caring for such things is the mark of a counterfeit king. And I focus also on the expression *caring for* as I use it here. Earlier,

I used this same expression in paraphrasing the description of Cyrus in the text of the Cyrus Cylinder. In that text, Cyrus too is described as an authentic king who *cares for* sacred places and rituals, as opposed to Nabonidus, who allegedly abuses them and thus shows that he is a counterfeit king.

Caring for a king

I see a parallel here with the traditional uses of the Greek verb *therapeuein*, which means 'care for' in contexts where the subject of this verb refers to an attendant in a temple, while its direct object refers to the sacred space of a divinity or to the temple of the divinity or, even more specifically, to a statue of this divinity (examples collected in Nagy 2013: 6§54). The Greek noun that corresponds to this verb *therapeuein* is *therapōn*, conventionally translated as 'attendant', and these two Greek forms *therapeuein* and *therapōn* are borrowings, as Nadia van Brock has shown, from the corresponding Anatolian forms *tarpašša-* and *tarp(an)alli-*, both of which have the basic meaning of 'ritual substitute', referring either to a human or to an animal victim.

When I say 'Anatolian' here, I am referring to the language family that includes Hittite and Luvian. As we see from Hittite texts referring to rituals of substitution, the victim in such rituals is either killed or banished as a ritual substitute for the king; similarly in the Homeric *Iliad*, as van Brock has argued, Patroclus as the alter ego of Achilles is described as his *therapōn* because he is doomed to be killed as a ritual substitute for Achilles (Van Brock 1959; 1961; also Nagy 2013: 6§§9–23).

The concepts of ritual substitution and substitute kingship

The Hittite tradition of ritual substitution derives from earlier Babylonian rituals that marked the festival of the New Year (Kümmel 1967: 189, 193–4, 196–7). A related tradition, attested in texts stemming from the neo-Assyrian Empire of the first millennium BCE, was the practice of periodically appointing and subsequently killing a substitute king, and the period of such a substitute king's tenure could be measured astrologically (Nagy 2013: 6§14, with reference to Parpola 1983: xxii–xxxii). Especially relevant to this concept of substitute kingship are the descriptions found in the correspondences of the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon (680–669 BCE) and Assurbanipal (668–627 BCE) (Kümmel 1967: 169–87).

Sadly, the attested evidence is meager. Still, even on the basis of what little we have, patterns emerge. Here I adduce again the work of Rahim Shayegan, who summarises in the following words the patterns that emerge in Mesopotamian rituals of substitute kingship:

> The principles of . . . substitute kingship are simple: when the life of the rightful sovereign was deemed to be threatened by an evil omen, especially an eclipse, a surrogate king (*šar pūḫi*) . . . could be chosen by the king's counsellors to replace him for the period during which the surrogate would be exposed to the danger of the bad omen. (Shayegan 2012: 35)

Similarities and differences between substitute kingship and counterfeit kingship

As Shayegan argues, such Mesopotamian rituals of substitution could have influenced the Persian narrative, as recorded in the Bisotun Inscription, about Darius in the role of the true king who defeats a counterfeit king, the evil magus named Gaumāta, who claims falsely to be Bardiya, brother of Cambyses and thus the legitimate heir to the kingship (Shayegan 2012: 35–41). As we are about to see, there are elements of stories about substitute kings that have influenced the stories we read about counterfeit kings.

Let us consider a cognate version of the story, as reported by Herodotus (III.61–88): here too, as in the story reported by the Bisotun Inscription, we see Darius in the role of the true king who defeats a counterfeit king. It is vitally important to add that the counterfeit king in this story of Herodotus is an evil magus named Smerdis, and that Smerdis is also a name of the brother of Cambyses.

There is yet another cognate version preserved in a story reported by Ctesias (F 13.12): in this version, an evil magus named Sphendadates conspires with Cambyses in arranging for the secret murder of the king's brother. For the moment, the conspirators get away with the deed because Sphendadates, who looks very much like the brother of Cambyses, had arranged for a royal edict that called for his own beheading, supposedly in punishment for disloyalty to the king. Then, the head of the brother of Cambyses, who as I noted had been secretly murdered, is publicly displayed as if it were the head of his evil lookalike Sphendadates, who can now impersonate the brother of Cambyses, even wearing his regalia (Shayegan 2012: 40–1).

A substitute king, unlike the counterfeit king described in the story reported by Ctesias, impersonates the true king in order to shield him from danger. The danger that threatens the true king must be absorbed by the substitute king. By contrast, a counterfeit king is the embodiment of the danger that must be eliminated (Shayegan 2012: 40–1). In terms of these definitions, the stories that are meant to legitimate the kingship of Darius are driven by the idea that Gaumāta, taking the place of Bardiya the brother of Cambyses, was really a counterfeit king. But there is an alternative possibility: that Gaumāta was originally a substitute king for Bardiya.

Limitations of time and space prevent me from exploring at length here the historical truth behind the variant stories about the death of the man who was declared to be a counterfeit king. Suffice it to say that there are basically two scenarios for viewing the cause of his death.

(1) According to one scenario, as promoted by the narratives of the Bisotun Inscription and of Herodotus and Ctesias, Cambyses had arranged for his brother to be murdered, thus removing a rival to the kingship, and he somehow managed to keep this murder a secret while he was engaged in his grand project of invading Egypt. But then, during the absence of Cambyses from Persia, a counterfeit king seized power there, claiming to be the brother of Cambyses, and this counterfeit king managed to hold on to power because Cambyses had in the meantime unexpectedly died

before he could ever return to Persia. This counterfeit king was eventually overthrown by Darius.

I find it relevant at this point to compare a detail in the visual narrative of the relief sculptures that are part of the Bisotun Inscription with a most telling detail about the brother of Cambyses in the verbal narrative of Herodotus. In the Bisotun Inscription, the sculpted figure of the triumphant Darius is shown holding a bow in his hand. In the story of Herodotus about the killing of Smerdis by Cambyses, there is mention of a wondrous bow that no Persian could string except for Smerdis, and this feat of Smerdis so unnerved Cambyses that it led him to plan the murder of his brother (III.30.1). In the same context, Herodotus mentions something else that unnerved Cambyses: the king dreamt that his brother Smerdis, sitting on a throne, looked so majestic that his head touched the sky (III.30.2). The picturing of Darius in the celestial heights of Mt Bisotun conjures, I suggest, a parallel image of authentic majesty.[12]

(2) According to an alternative scenario, Cambyses did not murder his brother Bardiya, known as Smerdis in the story of Herodotus, and this brother could thus become king of the Persian Empire after the death of Cambyses. But he was eventually overthrown and killed by Darius himself, a kinsman. So, if the killing of Bardiya/Smerdis was perpetrated not by Cambyses but by Darius, then the story of a counterfeit king who is also named Bardiya/Smerdis was likewise perpetrated by Darius. By way of this story, Darius would be killing not a kinsman but a counterfeit king who was merely impersonating Bardiya/Smerdis. From the standpoint of Bardiya/Smerdis, however, Darius himself would be the counterfeit king who was replacing the real king.[13] I offer a parallel formulation in the case of the Cyrus Cylinder: from the standpoint of Nabonidus, Cyrus himself would be the counterfeit king who was replacing the real king.

I highlight here one thing that both these alternative scenarios about the kingship of Darius have in common: both of them require a death by substitution. In the case of the first scenario, a counterfeit king attempts to substitute himself for a would-be real king and dies in making the attempt. In the case of the second scenario, Darius the newer king overthrows and kills Bardiya the earlier king, who is then re-thought as a counterfeit king – an evil magus pretending to be Bardiya. This magus, named Gaumāta, could once have been the substitute king for Bardiya, but then he could have double-crossed him, becoming the counterfeit king by claiming to the true Bardiya. I should emphasise here that the true Bardiya was in any case not the same person as Gaumāta, although the text of the Bisotun Inscription attempts to merge their identities.[14]

Weighing the comparative information that can be gleaned from the variant stories about the accession of Darius to kingship by way his killing a rival king, Shayegan offers this useful formulation:

> In the light of this information, the relevance of the substitute king ritual for Darius' literary subterfuge, which was intended to mask the reality of his own coup d'état against Bardiya and Gaumāta, becomes apparent. In Darius' account it is presumed that Cambyses, threatened

> by an omen predicting the loss of his sovereignty to his brother, ordered his assassination and replaced him with a substitute, who by assuming power indeed fulfilled the promise of the omen. Thus, in our context, far from deflecting the omen from himself, Cambyses is accused of countering it by replacing the hostile Bardiya with a friendly substitute, a substitute who, following the death of Cambyses, became sole ruler of the Persian empire. (Shayegan 2012: 41)

According to such a scenario, this sole ruler who then gets killed by Darius is a substitute king, not a true king.

Back to the Cyrus Cylinder

What we have seen, then, in the variant stories about the accession of Darius to kingship is a narrative gesture of ritual substitution, comparable to the narrative gesture of describing Belshazzar as a counterfeit king in the text of the Cyrus Cylinder. In the case of Belshazzar and his father Nabonidus, last king of Babylon, their authenticity is invalidated by Cyrus, whose archetypal text legitimises him as the real king and delegitimises his predecessor as a false king – as a counterfeit king. Once the empire is restored, the false king can be eliminated by the king – and by the archetypal text that speaks for the king.

Notes

1. My thinking on the term *archetype* has been enhanced by new perspectives that I derived from lively debates with Shaye Cohen.
2. For a summary of my analysis of the so-called Peisistratean Recension, see Nagy (2010: 314–25). For a comparable approach to research on the mythological aetiologies of the Iranian *Avesta*, I cite Skjærvø (2005).
3. Finkel (2013: 64). See in general Ellis (1968). For me the ideal introduction to the concept of foundation deposits is the concise analysis of Steinkeller (2004: 135–7).
4. See Michalowski (2014), who argues persuasively that this reference to Assurbanipal in the text of the Cyrus Cylinder is one of many signs indicating an active adoption of Mesopotamian and even Assyrian precedents on the part of Cyrus.
5. As Peter Machinist points out to me (personal communication), the text does not explicitly distinguish between the wall of the city of Uruk and the wall of Eanna, the sanctuary of Ishtar. He goes on to say: 'Perhaps the Gilgamesh epic is somehow eliding the wall of the city of Uruk, which is normally understood by scholars to refer to the city-wide wall, of Early Dynastic 1, ca. 3000–2900 BC, with the wall of the Eanna Temple of Ishtar in the Eanna District. I wonder, therefore, whether here in the Gilgamesh Epic the wall of the Eanna Temple of Ishtar is somehow being integrated into the wall of the city of Uruk.' In Nagy (1990: 144–5 = 5§16), I have studied the semantics of integration in the historical context of ancient Greek and Latin references to city walls. A case in point is the semantic chain linking the following words in Latin: moenia 'city wall' and mūnus 'communal obligation' and com-mūnis 'communal'.

6. George (2003: II, 781) notes: 'Though Eanna is situated in the middle of Uruk, the topography of the town is such that there are stretches of city wall that take one nearer to the temple area.' Following George, I render ^{giš}*kun4* as 'stairway'. As for the verb *ṣabātu*, I interpret it to mean here simply 'make one's way': in this case, 'to make one's way up the stairway'. I thank Kathryn Slanski for showing me parallel contexts. Also, I thank Piotr Steinkeller for sharing with me a pre-printed version of his forthcoming paper 'The employment of labor on national building projects in the Ur III period', where he analyses in some detail the contexts of references to stairways. See also Ragavan (2010: 26, 101, 152–3, 229, 235).
7. *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, T (tet) (2006: 337–9), with reference to Ellis (1968) and Dunham (1986). I am grateful to Kathryn Slanski for advising me about the uses of this word.
8. See George (2003: I, 446) for a critique of literal-minded modern interpretations of this passage: for example, some interpreters are worried about the very idea that the entire Gilgamesh narrative could have been written on a single tablet made of lapis lazuli.
9. Badawy (1972: 2, 7). In thinking about this model, I have benefited from conversations with Peter Der Manuelian.
10. For a comparable example of sacral metonymy, I cite Nagy (2009: 501–2 (= 4§116)), where I analyse myths centring on the goddess Athena as a moving force in the building of monuments on the Athenian Acropolis
11. Shayegan (2012: 157–9). See also Skjærvø (1985). I acknowledge as well the wealth of information and perspectives in Skjærvø (1999; 2003); also (2005).
12. In making this point about the king's dream as narrated in the passage from Herodotus (III.30.2), I have benefited from observations made *viva voce* by Samantha Blankenship about this passage.
13. In summarising this alternative scenario, I have benefited from the incisive observations of Shayegan (2012: xii, 41).
14. On the historicity of both Gaumāta and Bardiya, see Shayegan (2012: 27–33).

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Section V

The Roman and Much Wider World

15

Loropéni and Other Large Enclosed Sites in the South-West of Burkina Faso: An Outside Archaeological View

Henry Hurst

For Anthony, this excursion from familiar territory is offered in admiration and gratitude for your leadership and for being a wonderful colleague over twenty years.

Introduction

The World Heritage site at Loropéni is the best-preserved of about a dozen large quadrangular sites enclosed by stone walls in the south-west of modern Burkina Faso. They are located mostly in the modern Département of Loropéni a short distance west of the Black Volta river in the Savannah region, roughly midway between the river Niger and the southern edge of the Sahara and the forest belt close to the Atlantic south coast of western Africa (Fig. 15.1). Historically this region is crossed by the major north–south trade routes, linking the trans-Saharan trade of North Africa with the coastal regions. The area close to the sites has been gold-producing, with the mineral extracted from sedimentary deposits mainly by small-scale workings (Kiéthega 1983; Perinbam 1988); and it supports a modest agriculture with millet, sorghum and cotton among its principal products. It is occupied by several ethnic groups, notably the Lobi and the Gan, who, at the start of the colonial period a century ago, and still partly today, could be described as having a village-based social organisation and practising traditional religion (Labouret 1931; Père 1988; 2004).

Although there is considerable knowledge about the large enclosures (summarised most recently with respect to Loropéni by Simporé 2011), the dating and the context in which they were built have not yet been securely established. The present study is intended as a contribution to that. I write as an outsider (my normal area is European and Mediterranean urban archaeology), aware of the disadvantages that brings, but hoping that there might also be some advantage in distance.

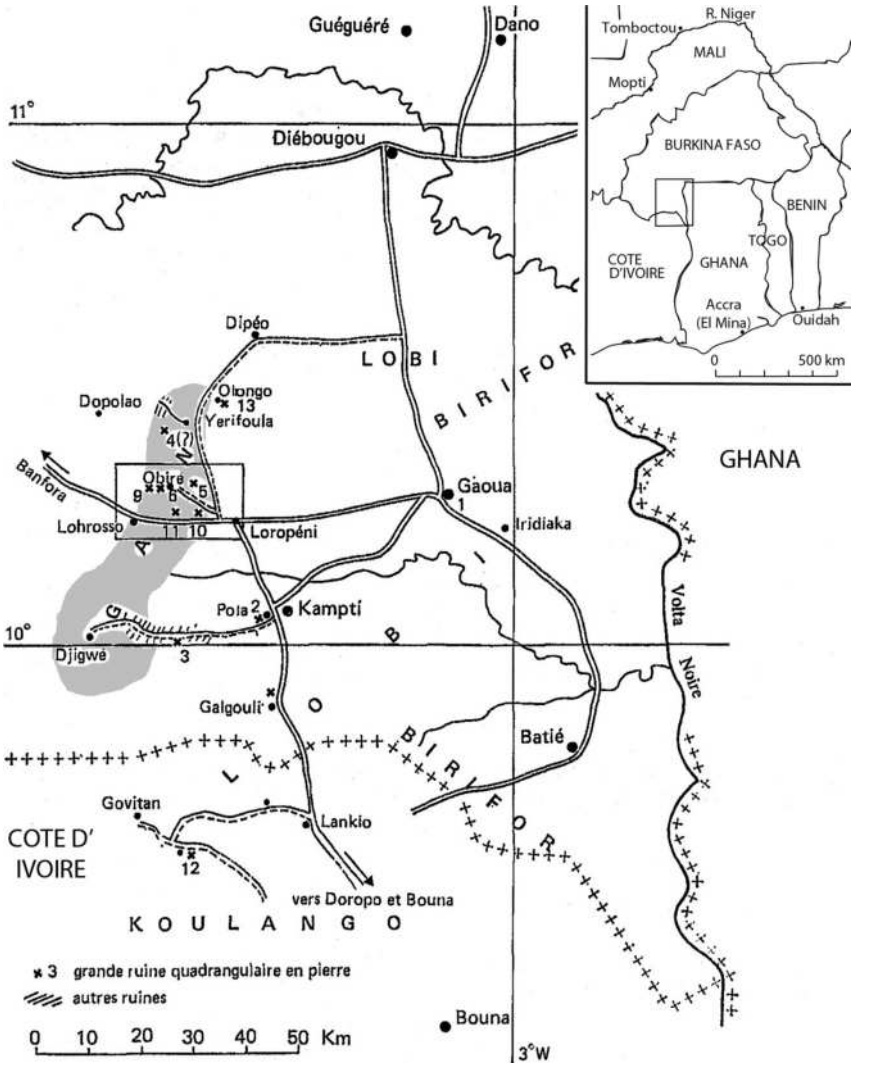

Figure 15.1 *Location plan. Main plan from Savonnet 1986: fig. 2, with Gan settlement area shown as grey tone (after Père 2004: fig. 13). The box in the main plan refers to the area shown in more detail in Fig. 15.6.*

As an introduction to the question it may be helpful to quote the description of Loropéni in the *Statement of Outstanding Universal Value* when it was inscribed on the list of UNESCO World Heritage sites in 2009:

> The dramatic and memorable Ruins of Loropéni consist of imposing, tall, laterite stone perimeter walls, up to six metres in height,

> surrounding a large abandoned settlement. As the best preserved of ten similar fortresses in the Lobi area, part of a larger group of around a hundred stone-built enclosures, they are part of a network of settlements that flourished at the same time as the trans-Saharan gold trade and appear to reflect the power and influence of that trade and its links with the Atlantic coast. Recent excavations have provided radio-carbon dates suggesting the walled enclosure at Loropéni dates back at least to the 11th century AD and flourished between the 14th and 17th centuries, thus establishing it as an important part of a network of settlements.[1]

The statement about the results of the excavations is more assertive than Simporé's summary (2011: 259–61), but not completely out of line. I will suggest that from direct observation of the remains and by using analogy we can gain a more focused view of the context for the creation of the enclosures at Loropéni and similar sites, with a slightly different dating, and that this could be tested by future fieldwork.

Defining the sites and their distribution

Defining sites in this area is not straightforward. A large enclosure at Gaoua was described in some detail by Delafosse as early as 1902, making a sharp distinction from present habitation sites (Delafosse 1902; also Ruelle 1904). Labouret, who first mapped sites in the region, distinguished between rectangular and circular plans; he subdivided the first group into 'grandes enceintes enfermant quelques maisons' and 'habitations isolées'; the circular sites were all 'de dimensions modestes, entourant une seule habitation et ses dépendances' (Labouret 1931: 17–20, figs. 4–7). Savonnet (1986) defined five types of site, including a category of 'Grandes enceintes quadrangulaires à soubassement en blocs de cuirasses ferrugineuses; périmètre de l'enceinte: supérieure à 250 m' (Savonnet 1986: 81–2, fig. 2). In this he listed thirteen examples, including Loropéni, out of a total of about sixty sites studied, and he made further, finer distinctions between these. Two enclosures of apparently similar design to the larger ones, but with perimeters of about half their size, near Yérifula and at Loghi had been recorded by Labouret (1931: figs. 5, 6) and there are a number of uncertain size (including three on Savonnet's list of thirteen). Savonnet placed fourteen bases of enclosures with perimeters of less than 100 m, which he noted in the vicinity of Yérifula, into a separate category probably of individual habitations (his '4e série': Savonnet 1986: 81). He says that his sites, which he observed over twenty-five years, lay within an area c. 50 km east–west by 100 km north–south (i.e. the main area in Fig. 15.1), though his detailed maps refer to much smaller areas within this; Savonnet 1986: 58, figs. 2–4, 7). Raymaekers surveyed eighty sites along four roads in the north of the Côte d'Ivoire, mainly south of the Savonnet area (Raymaekers

1996: 7 and fig. 1). Here there were both rectangular and curvilinear enclosures with a perimeter range from 15 to 140 m, many of which he inferred to be habitation sites of modern date (from their proximity to existing roads and similarity to structures still in use). He also identified several circuits of standing stones as animal enclosures (Raymaekers 1996: 8–12, 24–5).

Père's major study of the Gan, covering about 50 × 50 km mostly within the Savonnet area, unfortunately only distinguishes 'des dizaines et des dizaines de murs d'enceintes du meme genre [sc. as Loropéni], dont certains sont mieux conservés que d'autres' and 'des centaines et peut-etre des milliers de petits enclos dont les murs, également en pierre, sont aujourd'hui plus ou moins démolis' (Père 2004: 264). She refers to a list of 190 'grandes enceintes', located with GPS (Père 2004: 265), and in references to specific sites distinguishes between 'enclos' and 'grand enclos' (or 'enceinte'); among this last group are illustrations of sites in Savonnet's fifth category and a few other similar-looking ones. The loose definition is the more frustrating, since this study, based on detailed oral reportage, is more intensive than that of Savonnet.

Savonnet's discussion, supplemented by Raymaekers' observations, is precise enough to suggest that large quadrangular enclosures, with internal rectilinear planning, are a distinct category and not particularly numerous. They are distinct from individual habitation sites, marked by both rectilinear and curvilinear enclosures. Père's 190 'grandes enceintes' seem to mean all substantial stone-built remains, including probably habitations and village nucleations. With some adjustment of the Savonnet data and new plans of sites of similar size and appearance (Père 2004: figs. 331, 363 and 386; another, fig. 378, has no scale), there appear to be about a dozen quadrangular enclosures with perimeters demonstrably in a range of 340–460 m (enclosing 0.7–1.3 ha), some smaller ones and others of uncertain size. An attempt has been made to indicate the range of enclosure sizes and plans in Fig. 15.2 by notionally showing the sites at a common scale. However, it should be emphasised that all dimensions are only approximate and there are doubts about the accuracy of some of the plans: a valuable project would be to ensure good plans of all visible sites.[2]

A constructional distinction is made by Savonnet between Loropéni, which uniquely has a stone and clay construction to the full surviving height of 7 m for its perimeter walls (Figs. 15.3, 15.4) and the other large enclosures, where walls stand no higher than c. 2 m. Using the example of Olongo (Fig. 15.5), he suggests that this was because their upper parts were constructed in clay or pisé, which had subsequently been eroded (Savonnet 1986: 72–3, 75, figs. 14–15). This type of construction has evidently been in use up to the present time and can be seen in the restored Lobi house at Gaoua museum. Savonnet referred to Loropéni as a 'prestigeuse' construction and, given its similarity of scale and plan to other large enclosures, there seems no reason to suppose any major difference

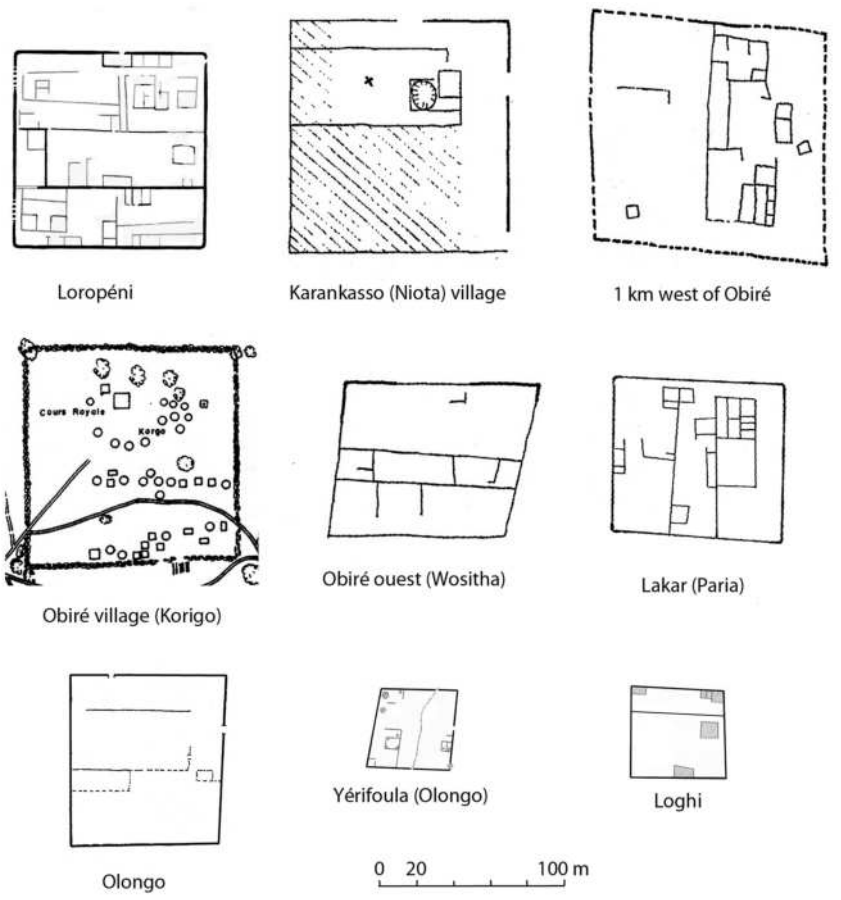

Figure 15.2 *Plans of enclosures at same approximate scale. Sources: Loropéni, Simporé 2011: plan 2; Karankasso, Savonnet 1986: fig. 11 (site no. 9); 1 km west of Obiré, Savonnet 1986: fig. 9 (site no. 7); Obiré village, sketch, Père 2004: fig. 125; Obiré ouest, Savonnet 1986: fig. 8 (site no. 8); Lakar, Père 2004: fig. 331; Olongo, Savonnet 1986: fig. 14 (site no. 13); Yérifoula and Loghi, Labouret 1931:, figs. 5 and 6.*

of function. However, where the evidence of planning is less clear, this may not apply.

Savonnet also noted the concentration of large enclosures within a small area extending from Loropéni World Heritage site towards the north-west: seven of his thirteen sites were located here, within 8 km of each other (Fig. 15.6). Five are clustered close to the village of Opiré, with one of them at the village centre, used as the seat of the Gan king and his court (Père 2004: chs. 3 and 4, figs. 105, 125). The possible significance of this is discussed below.

Figure 15.3 *South wall of Loropéni enclosure, looking north-east.*

Figure 15.4 *Detail of west wall, showing narrowing towards top (see also Simporé 2011: pl. 1B).*

Figure 15.5 *The external wall at Olongo (Savonnet's site no. 13), after Savonnet 1986: figs. 14 and 15.*

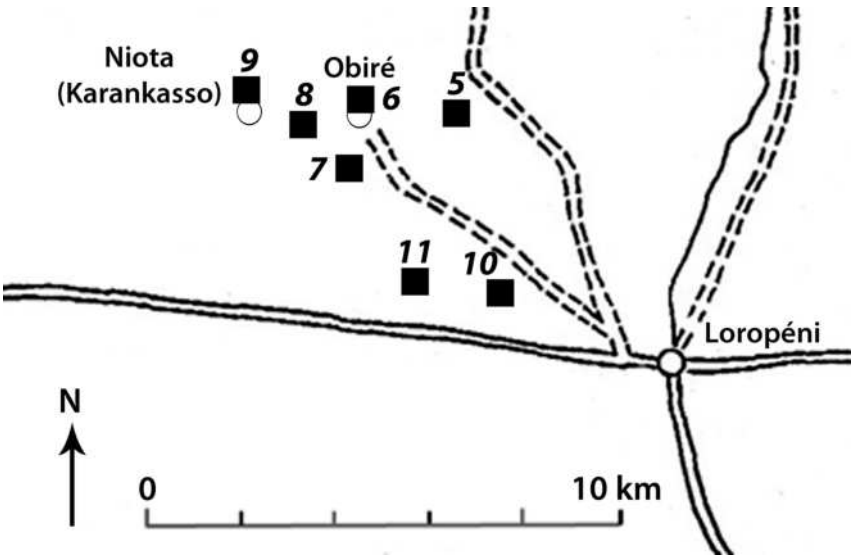

Figure 15.6 *Location of large quadrangular enclosures in vicinity of Obiré village after Savonnet 1986: fig. 7, using his numbers. No. 11 is Loropéni World Heritage site.*

Past study and interpretation of the sites

Delafosse's (1902) account of the first discovery of the enclosure at Gaoua has many elements repeated in the literature over the following century: a contrast between the rectilinear structures and contemporary buildings in the area; a report of the oral tradition, expressed in this case by the chief of a neighbouring village of the Birifo people, saying that when his great-grandfather came into the area (presumably about 1850) the ruins already existed such as they were in 1902 and that their origin was unknown; and

an indication of dating from a huge cailcedra tree, certainly more than 100 years old in 1902, growing on the ruins with its roots breaking them up. Speculation about the builders of the structures took the form of excluding all current or recently settled peoples: the Peuhls (Fulani) were considered, but they were nomads; Europeans only came into this area at the end of the nineteenth century and the Portuguese slave merchants never penetrated so far from the sea. Egyptians and Phoenicians were possibilities. Delafosse urged excavation to provide the answer.

Using the same reasoning about the builders of the enclosures, Ruelle (1905: 669) suggested the Hambé (Dogon) from the hills around Bandiagara. Labouret called his first study 'Le mystère des ruines du Lobi' (Labouret 1920) and eventually (1931: 20) proposed the Koulango, the earliest recorded ethnic grouping in the area, as builders. As noted, he made important steps forward in classifying and describing the sites.

The first description of the Loropéni site appears to be that of Bertho (1952), who suggests that Labouret was unaware of the site. Bertho described its tall walls and minimum of gates, 'prenant ainsi l'aspect d'un véritable prison', and he inferred that it belonged to

> des négriers qui y logeaient des esclaves sans valeur marchande pour l'exportation et qui les employaient aussi bien au lavage de l'or . . . qu'aux cultures vivrières pour le ravitaillement des caravanes de captifs destinés à l'exportation. En meme temps, ces enceintes pouvaient servir de centre de regroupement et de repos, après les razzias d'esclaves. (Bertho 1952: 34)

Local traditions 'attribuent ces constructions à des Blancs ayant le teint des Peuls. Ces Blancs seraient des négriers étrangers et probablement des Arabes en relation avec la Méditerranée, plutot que des Portugais venant de l'Atlantique.' The Lobi confirm that these ruins were in place before their arrival. He also referred to large karité trees seemingly over 100 years old growing in the ruins, suggesting that the largest one might be cut down for dating purposes. In her 1992 publication, Père mentioned Paley and Hébert (1962: 3–4) as arguing for a pre-sixteenth-century dating, because of the precedence of the ruins to the arrival of the Gan people, and she cited Ki-zerbo (1972: 174): '[les ruines] correspondent sensiblement au moment où le Mandé s'enfonçait vers la foret à la recherche de nouvelles sources d'or et representent des camps de rendez-vous, peut-etre entre les marchands wangara et les orpailleurs locaux.'

In addition to Savonnet's valuable work classifying the sites – referred to as an 'inventaire partiel' – and his structural observations, he added details about finds of Lobi metalwork and of pottery made in or close to the sites and discussed earlier interpretations, disagreeing with Labouret about the Koulango (Savonnet 1986: 76–9). Difficulties over site plans have already been mentioned and a cautionary word should be added about Savonnet's plans. Some enclosures evidently took the 'forme trapezoide' he suggested (apparently incorrectly) for Loropéni, but perhaps not always as much as his plans would suggest. The value of Paul Raymaekers'

1996 study in the northern Côte d'Ivoire has also been mentioned as a complement to Savonnet and for its argument that many sites must be of modern date.

The most detailed interpretation of the sites from an anthropologist's viewpoint has been by Marguerite Père. In her book on the Lobi (1988) she referred to the 'enigme historique et archéologique' of the sites and provided a bibliographical resumé of earlier interpretations. In her 1992 article, 'Vers la fin du mystère des ruines du Lobi?', she says that the Gan 'maintes et maintes fois interrogés par les chercheurs . . . assuraient les avoir trouvées [sc. les ruines] fraichement construites dans un pays vide d'habitants, mais rempli d'animaux féroces' (Père 1992: 79). She refers to their secondary use of the enclosure at Kingue, north-east of Loropéni, at the time of their displacement by the Lobi (Père 1992: 84). In her *Le royaume gan d'Obiré*, published posthumously in 2004, she says that the twenty-seventh Gan ruler, Dabirà Farma, lifted a corner of the veil by declaring that Gan ancestors had built these works to protect themselves from fierce animals (Père 2004: 263). This statement is at the beginning of two chapters on 'residences anciennes' and 'residences actuelles' where the genealogical traditions relating to each site are set out. Earlier in the volume, a rationale for the sequence of 'habitat' is given: the Gan knew how to construct round houses, but when they arrived in their present settlement area, the region was wooded and full of wild animals:

> C'est la raison qu'ils donnent pour expliquer la construction des murs d'enceinte. A l'intérieur de celle-ci, qui était souvent carrée ou rectangulaire, il n'était pas aisé de construire des cases rondes, il y avait de la place perdue et les habitants étaient trop serrés, les femmes étaient obligées de loger dans les cases des hommes et chacun se genait mutuellement. Ils ont donc construit des cases rectangulaires, avec terrasses comme ils en font encore pour le roi et pour certaines entités spirituelles. Lorsqu'ils sont sortis des enceintes en pierre, ils ont abandonné ce type d'habitat dont l'entretien est exigeant et ils ont repris l'usage des cases rondes, ou parfois carrées, de type soudanais, à toit de paille. (Père 2004: 59)

In two other chapters (3 and 4) of her book there is coverage of the physical setting for the Gan kingship at Obiré, where there were five large, stone-built enclosures.

The most recent study by Lassina Simporé, 'Les ruines de Loropéni, premier site burkinabé patrimoine mondial de l'humanité', published in 2011, provides background on the World Heritage listing and discusses the site, giving a resumé of the results of excavations carried out in 2008–9. The construction of the stone enclosures is placed at an early date in view of the history of population movements:

> l'antériorité d'occupation de la région est reconnue au Lorhon, aux Touna et aux Koulango. Ils . . . se seraient installés avant le XVème

> siècle . . . on peut en l'état actuel des connaissances dire des Lorhon-Koulango-Touna qu'ils sont les bâtisseurs des ruines de pierres de la région, notamment celles de Loropéni . . . Les Gan qui seraient arrivés après eux . . . se seraient appropriés leur héritage matériel. (Simporé 2011: 259, citing Gomgnimbou and Ky's 2008 report on oral traditions, annexed to the World Heritage application)

The excavations, carried out by members of the University of Ouagadougou over fifty days, included four sondages in the larger northern enclosure and three in the southern enclosure. Multi-period occupation with 'murs enfouis' was revealed. From C14 an eleventh-century date was attributed 'aux occupants du niveau des bases du murs'. The latest occupation in the nineteenth century was obtained from estimating the life span of 'la première génération de la végétation ligneuse installée dans les ruines à 100 ans et la durée de vie de la végétation ligneuse actuelle à 100 ans également'. Finds made in the excavations included 'ceramique de petites dimensions quelquefois bien décorée, des piéces metalliques (couteaux, points de flèche, lame de daba [hoe])' and some examples are illustrated, including a knife with curving blade and tang, an arrowhead and a fragment of carinated, wheel-turned pottery with impressed decoration (pl. 3). As regards interpretations, some speak of fortifications to protect against attack from slave hunters, gold-seekers or wild animals, but 'nous étonnons avec Marcel Guilhem' that the builders of Loropéni wanted the walls straight and smooth 'sans crénaux, sans meutrières, sans fenetres sur l'extérieur, sans aspérités pour l'escalade, sans fossé au dehors, sans remblai au dedans, sans rien enfin qui rappelle une quelconque nécessité de défense ou d'attaque' (citing Guilhem and Hébert 1961: 14–15). Other authors connect the ruins with gold-mining, noting that Loropéni is situated on medieval trade routes between Koumbi, Gao and Mopti (in modern Mali) in the north and Salaga (Ghana) and Bondoukou (Côte d'Ivoire) in the south. Others, noting the thick and tall walls and modest openings, which would make escape impossible or rare, interpret Loropéni as a slave entrepôt. However, there are no finds to support these hypotheses. Simporé concludes that

> les ruines de Loropéni sont une infrastructure vielle de plus de 1000 ans. Elles furent vraisemblablement construites avec une main d'oeuvre importante conduite par [une] équipe qui semblait avoir des connaissances assez poussées non seulement en géographie, en physique, en mathématiques et surtout en managements de grandes groupes humains. (Simporé 2011: 259–61)

The official Loropéni website (www.ruinesdeloropeni.gov.bf) gives a detailed account of the site and the excavations. Under the 'Historique et développement' section, there is an explicit adjustment to Père 2004: the Gan migrated to the region at the end of the seventeenth century and had said previously that they found the stone enclosures unoccupied. 'Cette réoccupation peut expliquer la récente revendication de la paternité des ruines des Gan.'

This literature thus shows a well-established interpretative framework, with a distinctive character. From the start the possibility was considered that the rectangular structures were built by (historically) local communities, and that has been assumed in recent studies. Attached to this there seems to have been a rather fixed view of social organisation: that it was in the past as we see it now. This has influenced assumptions about dating: because any given group, such as the Koulango, Gan or Lobi, build differently now, the construction of the enclosures should pre-date their first arrival in the region. Only in Père's 2004 study of the Gan is there an explicit attempt to explain change, from the rectangular enclosures to curvilinear buildings, within the history of a single group. But this has not found full acceptance.

Observations and possible analogy

From direct observation of the Loropéni remains (seen in February 2014), Simporé, Guilhem and Bertho are surely right: its tall, thin enclosing walls, c. 1.4 m wide at the base, narrowing to only 0.2–0.3 m at the top (Figs. 15.3–15.4 above), without battlements or internal access to the top, show that it was not designed as a defensive fortification, but probably to keep people in, as Bertho suggested. Its outer rendering in smoothed clay might have served the function mentioned by the Gan, of protection against wild animals, but this was clearly not its primary purpose. Secondly, it seems unlikely from the preservation of both the enceinte walls, said to be 80 per cent intact, and structures within, standing up to 2–3 m high (Fig. 15.7), that they are as old as the fifteenth century, much less the eleventh century. On the other hand, the oral and vegetation evidence makes it clear that Loropéni and some other enclosures were disused by the middle, and probably by the start, of the nineteenth century.

Figure 15.7 *Structures in north part of Loropéni interior, looking south-east.*

It seems possible to move forward by considering apparent similarities of the design of the large enclosed sites to European trading enclaves of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries in the area of the Slave Coast on the south of modern Benin. Loropéni has similarities to the Portuguese fort of São João Baptista de Ajudá (St John the Baptist at Ouidah). This served the role of both fort and trading station, with its last governor, the notorious Francisco Félix de Souza, in the 1820s (Law 2003). Comparison should not be pushed too hard because of the many alterations to the Ouidah fort, especially after it became the residence of the Portuguese representative in Dahomey, from 1894 to 1961 (see Ardouin 2000: 129–31). However, its basic layout seems likely to be preserved in a labelled plan of 1888 at a scale of 1:200 held by the Sociedade de Geográfia de Lisboa (*Planta do forte português em São João Baptista de Ajudá: Daomé*). It was a walled enclosure, slightly smaller than Loropéni, probably with just one gate and a possible gatehouse; both were subdivided internally and contained free-standing buildings and ranges attached to the outer walls and internal divisions (Fig. 15.8). In its days as a trading station it had the capacity to store goods and hold slaves, as well as being a military post.

A more fruitful comparison can be made with four early eighteenth-century trading enclaves without fortifications at Savi, the capital of the Hueda kingdom, about 20 km inland from Ouidah (Fig. 15.9). These are shown in an engraving of 1725, the *Prospect of the European Factorys, at Xavier or Sabi, from Marchais*, shortly before the destruction of the whole complex in 1727 (Fig. 15.10); there is also a plan held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Fig. 15.11). 'Factory' here refers to a factor

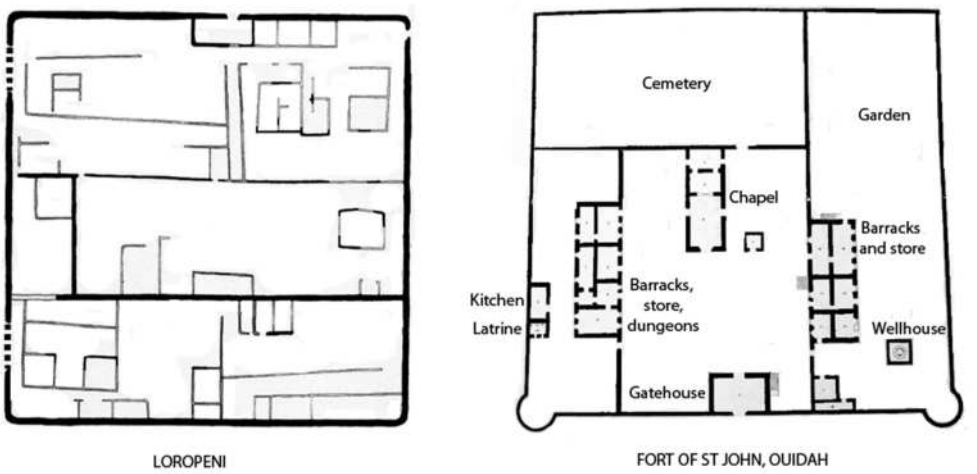

Figure 15.8 *Loropéni and Ouidah (from the 1888* Planta do forte português em São João Baptista de Ajudá: Daomé *of the Sociedade de geografia de Lisboa) at same approximate scale.*

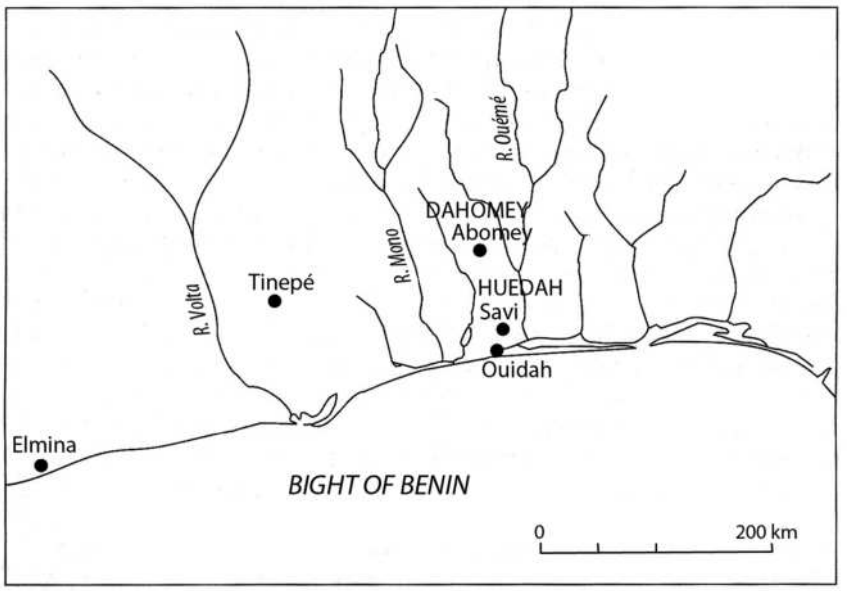

Figure 15.9 *Location of Savi, after Kelly 2009: fig. 7.1.*

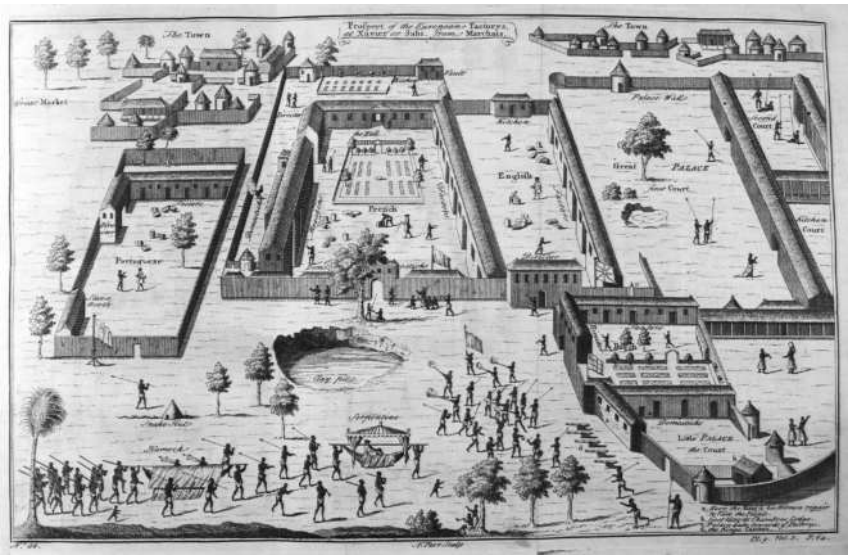

Figure 15.10 *Prospect of Savi factories, 1725* (Prospect of the European Factorys, at Xavier or Sabi, from Marchais).

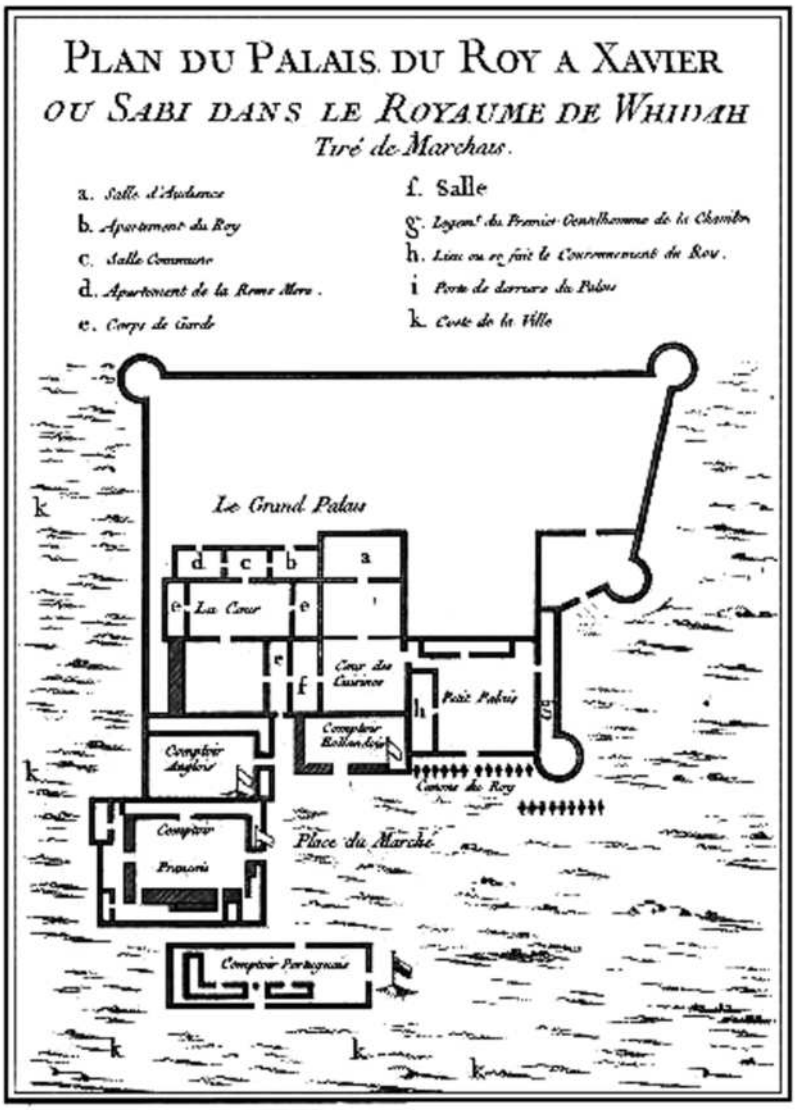

Figure 15.11 *Plan of Savi palace complex in Bibliothèque nationale de France.*

or trading agent and the physical centre of his activities, which typically took the form of an enclosed compound on land granted as a concession by local rulers. The earliest example of this type of structure was Elmina in Ghana, established by the Portuguese in 1482 (DeCorse 2001). With the growth of the Atlantic slave trade, a major role of the coastal factories in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was as slave-processing establishments, but they continued also to be bases for the importation of European goods. Most of the surviving examples were also fortified, as were Elmina and St John the Baptist at Ouidah, but these fortifications

were against other Europeans and additional to their basic trading role. As Kelly has described in several studies (Kelly 2009, with citations), the king at Savi preferred to control the Europeans by attaching their trading enclaves to his palace complex and forbidding fortifications. The factories in the engraving can then be seen as pure examples of trading installations, of the time when the Atlantic slave trade was at its height. When the Hueda kingdom was overwhelmed by Dahomey in the 1720s, the European trading concessions were moved to Ouidah.

All four factories at Savi were walled enclosures basically with one gate (two further small side openings are shown for the Portuguese enclosure in the plan), a single-storey range with several doors and windows, labelled 'factory', along one side and a two-storeyed building, labelled 'director'. They vary beyond that, with the French one being the grandest. The Portuguese enclosure has a building labelled 'slave booth' in the left-hand corner and the French one has two ranges for 'domesticks'. Otherwise there are magazines, kitchens, gardens etc. In the Portuguese and French examples, the main enclosure is subdivided with back spaces. In all of the main open spaces except that of the Dutch, scattered packages of goods are shown, with men in European dress overseeing Africans working with them. The plan in the Bibliothèque nationale adds the information that the four enclosures surround and open onto the 'Place du Marché'; in the engraved view this is shown as containing a round clay pit and, on the opposite side from the 'little palace' and the king's cannons, a snake hut.

The similarities to Loropéni and other enclosures in the present area seem to be: their size, not possible to determine exactly, but evidently similar; the single gate or sparse openings; gatehouses (probably present on the north side at Loropéni); internal buildings partly free-standing and partly set against enclosure walls; and secondary walled-off segments within the main enclosure. In what we can see so far in the inland sites, there seems to be no evidence for long buildings like those labelled 'factory' in the Savi engraving. Also, Loropéni and some other inland sites seem to have less internal open space than the Savi enclosures, but this could just reflect continuing use. In any case, what is being suggested is not an exact match, but a broadly similar design and therefore function. In view of Simporé's comment about Loropéni – 'connaissances assez poussées . . . en mathématiques et surtout en managements de grandes groupes humains' (2011: 261) – which would also apply to other inland enclosures, we can see the inland sites as much as the coastal factories as the products of societies at a state level of social organisation.

The potentially contentious issue of identities should be clarified here. There is no question that Loropéni and similar inland sites are African buildings to be understood in an African socio-economic context. They stand in a region where, simply, no Europeans are recorded as going until the late nineteenth century. The discussion so far of the European associations of the trading factory has been about the context for the development of this type of site. But to take European and African dualism (or separation) beyond this is unhelpful, in understanding both the material culture

and the human reality. In its portrayal of cannons outside the 'little palace', with men firing muskets in front of them, the Savi engraving illustrates the absorption into a local social context of originally external products; these particular firearms might have been either imports or of local production; behind them is the palace looking structurally similar to (as no doubt it was), and sharing aspects of design as well as the setting with, the trading factories. On the human side, as Meillassoux has said (1971: 72–6), not only were trading communities alien with respect to local populations, they could be ethnically mixed also, including between Europeans and Africans.

If, then, the coastal factories were alien enclaves, whose existence depended upon the support of local rulers, and they were duplicated in a small area through the different affiliations of the traders (Portuguese, French, English etc.), could there be a comparable explanation for the distribution of large enclosures close to each other in the Loropéni region? In particular, is the clustering of five over a stretch of only c. 2 km around Obiré comparable to Savi (Fig. 15.6 above, Fig. 15.12)? For this is the ancestral seat of the Gan kings, who trace their dynasty back through twenty-eight reigns. Could there have been a stage when the Gan king was powerful enough to grant concessions and gather traders around his own seat of power, like the Hueda rulers?

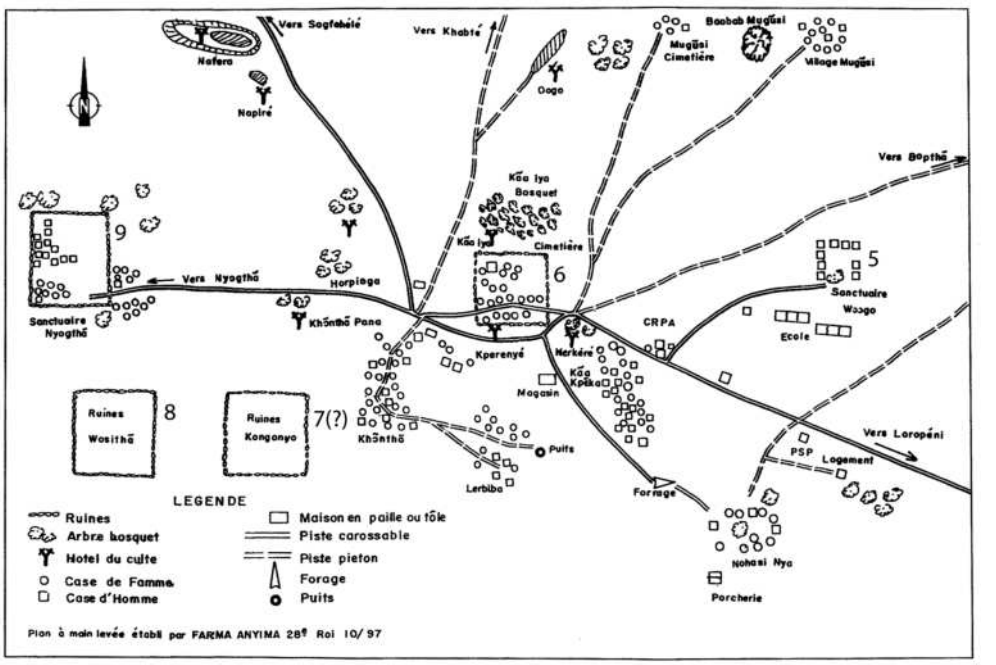

Figure 15.12 *Sketch plan of the Obiré complex, established by Farma Anyima, twenty-eighth Gan king, after Père 2004: figs. 243–4. The enclosure sites are identified with the numbers used by Savonnet (as in Figure 15.6).*

There are reasons to think so, both from broad historical trends and from the recorded memory of the Gan. Mandé Islamic traders or Dyula (the generic name meaning 'trader'), originating from Mali, are thought to have maintained and developed the trade routes between the Sahara and the Atlantic coast from the decline of the Songhai Empire in Mali in the sixteenth century. They are seen as operating autonomously, with the consent of local rulers, until the early eighteenth century, when one of them, Seku Wattara, set himself up with a military force, overthrew the rulers and established a Dyula state with the city of Kong (situated c. 200 km south-west of Loropéni) as its capital. After Seku's death in 1735 the state seems to have been split, with power briefly centred on his brother towards the north, around Bobo Diolassou, and his eldest son to the south, around Kong; later the state seems to have fragmented into separate chiefdoms. Their independence was ended by Samori Touré's conquest towards the end of the nineteenth century, which in its turn was succeeded immediately by French colonisation (Azarya 1988: 118–23). As Mahir Saul in particular has discussed, the extent to which Seku's Dyula state was ever more than a federation of trading communities with a military element is debatable – he uses the term 'War House' to describe them (Saul 1998) – but the key point is that it seems to mark the passing of power from local rulers into the hands of the merchant and military groups. Boutillier (1971: 241) describes the two components of this world at the city of Bouna, about 150 km south of Loropéni:

> groupements autochtones Koulango [in this area], dirigeants d'un état peuplé de cultivateurs . . . et de groupements d'origine étrangère, Mande-dioula pour la plupart, orientés principalement vers des activités mercantile et artisanales. A la fois cité marchande . . . et capitale d'un petit 'royaume' Koulango, Bouna semble assez typique d'une certaine forme d'organisation socio-économique qui parait caractériser cette zone de l'Ouest Africain du XVIIe au XIXe siècle.

The apparent contradiction in the Gan oral tradition, between them reusing or, as Père (2004) records, building large rectangular enclosures, could reflect what has been suggested. The enclosures were for 'alien' merchants, but their rulers also enabled them to be built, so in that sense they could be seen as the builders. Many different rulers are associated with building, so this would only be part of a more complex reality (with the distinction between planned enclosure in the sense used and habitation site being blurred). This oral tradition, in common with that of the Lobi (Labouret 1931: 30–5), also records the later dominance of the Wattara: the tenth Gan king, Ikhumè-Sisa, is said to have been taken captive by Wattara from Sahuta (Côte d'Ivoire), and their successors still hold the last say on the royal succession. The tradition also records Wattara use of enclosures including Loropéni (Père 2004: 437).

If the enclosures in the present area are related to this historical sequence, the stage which their construction seems to fit best would be

before Seku Wattara, when local rulers were dominant. For then they could be understood as 'concession' sites granted to individual traders. The sites clustered around Opiré in contact with the seat of Gan royalty could also be explained by analogy with Savi, as the point of contact between a king and merchants. Gold was no doubt a part of their business, but the principal link – and the one causing the distribution of sites – is likely to have been slaves, with the king as controller of this resource.[3] Once the merchants with military support became the dominant element in society, this dynamic would change. They could carry out their own slaving and presumably build more or less where they liked; so they would be less likely to duplicate the same kind of construction in a small area. At this stage, some sites might have changed function from trading to a partly military role. Loropéni would be suitable to convert into a base for a Wattara slave militia, but, again, if it was built as a fort in the first place, one might expect its design to have been more fort-like. It might therefore be suggested that the initial construction of the enclosures lies broadly in the seventeenth century, with secondary uses in many cases until the nineteenth century.

How far is this confirmed by the recent excavations at Loropéni? Simporé (2011: 260) makes it clear that results are only at a provisional stage and that a specific date for the circuit wall does not yet exist. He is inclined towards an earlier dating, but on grounds of the general sequence and the evidence of population movements. Dating the circuit walls is not necessarily easy, since it needs datable artefacts or material suitable for physical dating methods in key stratigraphic positions: most likely would be a *terminus post quem* dating from material associated with, or earlier than, the wall's construction. That the occupation sequence at Loropéni and other enclosure sites might extend earlier than the construction of the enclosures would not be surprising, given the antiquity of the trading routes through the region.

Concluding discussion

Four comments, probably out of many more, can be made:

1. *The limits of analogy.* Analogies, as used in the discussion above, are often limited and misleading; and where they do not work is liable to be more revealing than where they do. For example, Loropéni, with its 'playing-card' plan and the planned buildings inside it, could be said to be like a Roman fort (it would be slightly smaller than a fort for a 500-strong unit: Johnson 1983). The non-fort-like aspects of Loropéni and the different context of its building would show the limits of such a comparison. We gain understanding from seeing where this analogy does not work. So we should be critical about the analogy made above. There are differences of geographical setting (coastal factories versus inland sites), distance (c. 700 km apart) and the ethnicity of the

traders (Europeans on the coast), but, because of what seems to be a comparable relationship between traders and rulers, these do not seem to me to make the analogy not work. More problematical, however, are some basic assumptions: for example, that Loropéni and nearby large enclosure sites really are similar to each other in character and date (probable but not proved).

2. *Testing by fieldwork: basic assumptions.* At bottom is the typological problem referred to at the start: we do not really know how far there is a group of special enclosures separate from regular habitation sites. Short of a systematic survey, which would be the desired way of addressing this, valuable research is also achievable with modest means: for a start, the problem of reliable plans mentioned above; checking existing plans and adding to them. The 190 sites referred to in Père's (2004) publication would yield much more information if they were classified in relation to existing typologies or a new, better typology. This would require checking them on the ground, a large task, but it should be possible with the GPS references given and would not be costly. *More elaborate propositions:* It would also be possible to test by fieldwork some quite precise suggestions made above: the dating; sequences of trading followed by possible military use; Islamic traders (mosques at some sites or visible in burial practices?); use first by 'state-organised' groups and later by 'non-state' groups. This is less immediately possible. The fieldwork needed, geophysical survey and excavation, would demand significant resources and institutional support, but it would be rewarding.
3. *The special archaeological character of this area?* A comparison can be made with the Niger valley around Segou, where recent archaeological research has been done (MacDonald 2012, with references). In the latter area 'the least of their inhabited villages are fortified'. That could also be true of the present area for the eighteenth century and earlier: we do not know. Because of its exceptional preservation, Loropéni has allowed the distinction to be made that it is an enclosed, but not conventionally fortified, site, and discussion has followed from that. If just the base of its walls survived, it would be classified as a fortified site. This needs more thought, perhaps in both areas, but especially in this one. How far is it unlike other areas?
4. *Celebrating the material culture.* I share the pleasure of those involved with the heritage of Burkina Faso that it is inscribed in the World Heritage list, 'considered to be of outstanding value to humanity', in UNESCO's special language. Who could not be pleased at that? As to the thought that issues have been raised here which might seem to diminish its value, I would strongly disagree. The study of material remains in this area is an underexploited resource, which has much to add to the work of anthropologists and economic and social historians. The evidence deserves to be seen in all its complexity; I hope that further work soon takes place.

Notes

1. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1225.
2. Even with Loropéni there is conflicting evidence over its dimensions, as between the statement on the official website that it measures 105 × 106 m (http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1225) and the plan reproduced in Simporé 2011 (plan no. 1), where it can be scaled off as 105 × c. 115 m. Also, in giving a longer east-west than north-south dimension, these two differ from Savonnet 1986: fig. 16 and the plan currently displayed on the site. It seems most probable that the website statement that the enclosure was almost square is correct and that there is a slight distortion in the otherwise detailed Simporé plan. I have adjusted for this in the reproductions here.
3. I hope that it will not seem ungrateful, after the king 'lifted a corner of the veil', for bad things thus to be ascribed to his ancestors. The Gan were more powerful in the past (as outlined by Père 2004: 42–9) and slavery would inevitably have been part of their world; generally cf. Bazemo 2007: esp. 23–34.

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16

The Poetics of Ruins in ancient Greece and Rome

Alain Schnapp

The term ruins (*ereipia*) in Greek derives from the verb *ereipo*, meaning *to cut down*, *to cause to fall*, as already documented by Homer. If the word appears in Herodotus, it is rarely found in the corpus of Greek tragedies and in Thucydides: ruins do not constitute a prominent theme before the Hellenistic period. It is not until Latin poetry that poetic nostalgia becomes a key element in sensitivity to the past. For Sophocles, Euripides and Aeschylus, Troy is the setting of a massive and sudden destruction, a vast area of rubble devastated by pillage and fire; it is not yet a ruin. Things are different in the case of Latin poetry, which constructs a topos of the deserted and abandoned city from the image of the city's destruction. In order for the feeling of ruins to be expressed as a melancholy in the face of vestiges, which are nothing more than traces of a former flourishing life or of a splendid monument reduced to some blocks of stone, it is necessary for time to take its toll and for the poet to get to grips with the feeling of loss which ensues (Papini 2011).

To visualise the history of Rome it is necessary to give a historical dimension to the fall of Troy. It is necessary to accept that the destruction of the city becomes a parable of the cycles of nature. Propertius gives a good example of this; the poet sings of the beginnings of Roman history and the stages of its astonishing expansion (IV.10.27–30):[1]

> Alas, ancient Veii! You too were a kingdom then and a golden chair was set in your forum. Now within your walls the horn of the slow-paced shepherd sounds, and they reap the harvest above your bones.

These verses mark a break; although they take their place in the tradition of the *encomium* of cities that have disappeared, they reflect a unique tonality. Nothing remains of the noble city governed by so many rich and powerful rulers; all has disappeared; in place of the forum, we see only fields frequented by shepherds and ploughmen. The city is a sepulchre and perhaps only tombs remain of it. Propertius' genius lies in not describing the toll time has taken, but describing its result. The vast city, traversed by the slowly pacing flocks, appears even more deserted. 'Times change', as Pythagoras proclaims; it is the contrast and the distance which become a

factor in a reference to ruins (Ovid, *Met.* XV.418–30). The poetry of ruins finds its place between present and past. The ruins are no longer just the image of a past grandeur: they are, as Pythagoras would have it, a kind of '*memento mori*'. The letter from Servius Sulpicius Rufus addressed to Cicero after the death of his daughter Tullia is on the same theme. In it, he describes his voyage in the Aegean to Cicero (*ad Fam.* IV.5.4):

> As I was returning from Asia, when I was sailing from Aegina towards Megara, behind me was Aegina, in front of me Megara, on my right the Piraeus, on my left, Corinth, towns which at one time were flourishing, now lay prostrate and overthrown before one's very eyes. I began to think to myself: 'So! do we puny mortals resent it, if one of us, whose lives are naturally shorter, has died or been killed, when "in one place there lie flung down before us the corpses of so many towns"? You should control yourself, Servius, and remember that you were born a human being.'

Understood in this way, the scene of the ruins is an aid to memory, a means for bearing the sorrows of mourning. Seneca the Younger goes still further in using a Stoic metaphor, which is also an ancient image (*Epistles* XCI.16):

> It is not the case that you should measure our worth by our funeral mounds and by these monuments of different sizes that line the road: their ashes level all men. We are unequal at birth, but equal in death. What I say about cities goes for their inhabitants as well.'

The *mnēmata* and the *monumenta* are necessary for worship, for the memory of the dead and for the harmony of the city, but they are nothing in the light of man's situation in the world: dissolution is what all things have in common. The same condition brings man and things closer together. It is the expression of this sentiment that leads to the emergence of a poetry of ruins: the *cadavera* of men and those of cities blend into one another.

The *Pharsalia*, the landscape of ruins and the birth of an empire

For Lucan in the *Pharsalia*, Troy is the very image of destruction. In the pursuit of Pompey, whose *vestigia sparsa* (scattered traces) he is trying to find, Caesar goes on a kind of initiatory journey full of heroic and literary reminiscences (*Pharsalia* IX.961–9):

> Marvelling at their ancient fame Caesar sought out the sands of Sigeum and the waters of the Simoeis and Rhoeteum made noble by the Grecian's burial mound and the shades of the dead who owe much to poets. He walked around Troy that was burned, now but a memorable name, and he searched for the mighty relics of the wall Phoebus built. Now barren woods and decaying tree-trunks pressed upon the palace of Assaracus and with worn-out roots now enfolded the temples of the gods, and Pergama is entirely covered with thickets: even the ruins have perished.

Here Lucan depicts all at once the character of Caesar, the future of Rome and the destiny of the poem (Green 1991). And, in order to do this, he places himself alongside his hero in grandiose surroundings, which are those of the epic: *circumit exustae nomen memorabile Troiae*, 'he roams around the memorable name of Troy, destroyed by the fire'. How can he roam like this around a concept? Because Troy is as immaterial as it is real; it is first and foremost a *nomen* which lives on in memory through the effect of the poetic tradition. Each of these verses is an echo of the enchanted landscapes of the *Iliad* which Caesar traverses after his victory. According to Strabo (XIII.1.2 (C596)), the cape of Sigeum is the place where Achilles is buried and the promontory of Rhoiteum the place where Ajax is buried (Haskins 1971: 355). Lucan offers a perspective on different levels, each image of which recalls Homer, each of whose verses is an echo of the epic (see Green 1991 for Homeric references in Lucan). The originality of this passage lies in building a landscape of ruins, which is also a landscape of words. Caesar moves over the Troad like Volney's genius (Volney 1869: ch. III). The landscapes which Caesar admires owe much of their attraction to the songs of the poets: *et multum debentis vatibus umbras*. The relationship between the remains and the visitor is at the heart of the narrative; Caesar admires, he is a *mirator*, he seeks (*quaerit*) the relics (*vestigia*) of the walls. And, at the same time, he does not see very much, because everything is covered, buried under vegetation. The effect of erosion and of dilution is almost total: even the ruins have perished (*etiam periere ruinae*). What is revealed to the eyes of the *mirator* is not, truth be told, the traces of an ancient city, but the stages of a story incarnated in a magic place, a space where every stone, every broken block, has a name: *nullum est sine nomine saxum*. The stones all have names and the visitor discovers them by himself or thanks to the presence of a guide (*monstrator*) who assists the *mirator*. This guide, who is so appealing, is none other than the poet himself, who indicates to the victorious conqueror the exact place of each of the remains (Green 1991: 251). We can consider these verses as the evidence of a precise intention to establish a relationship between the landscape and its observer, to use the ruins as one would an object of the memory and of distinction (Pasca 2001: 'l'intenzione palese di visitare i luoghi celebrati della fama'). The majesty of the ruins is not without irony since, after having crossed a little stream, Cesar learns that this is the famous Xanthus. A grassy hill, up which he tramps, reveals itself to be the tomb of Hector; some shapeless stones lie on the ground in no particular order: here is the altar of Zeus. The inspiration of the Stoic tradition is present here.

Thus, the visit to the ruins progressively takes on its truly literary dimension; it encourages a moment of reflection on the past at the same time as a moment of self-affirmation, because it is as much a discovery as a pilgrimage that brings Caesar, guided by the poet, to consider the future. The ruins of Troy are the trace of a foundational event, of a historic clash between east and west. It is the message of the Trojan ideology about the origins of Rome, the pilgrimage to the sources, inaugurated by Lucan in

following Caesar's journey. However, Caesar in the Troad is more than a *condottiere* discovering a memorable place. We need only consider how Lucan describes the visit paid by Caesar to Alexander's tomb in Alexandria (*Pharsalia* X.15–19; cf. Pasca 2001: 67ff.; Salemme 2002: 79–80):

> Undaunted he strode around the shrines of the gods and the temples of an ancient deity that bore witness to the ancient might of Macedon. He was not detained by any charming sight, neither gold, nor cult ornaments of the gods, nor city ramparts, but eagerly went down into the cave hewn out amid the tombs.

At Alexandria, Caesar does not behave as a *mirator*, as a visitor interested in the splendours of the city, or as an admirer of its past. The visit to Alexander's tomb is the opposite of a visit to the ruins. It is simply the meeting of the great man and one of the heroes of Greek history. Ruins as such form part of a political purpose, of a reflection on history and the world. For Lucan, ruins form the framework of an action which links the past to the future. The Trojan ruins evoke other ruins for the reader of the poem; that is, those of the Civil War, the end of which is marked by the victory of the *Pharsalia*. Indeed, Lucan's poem opens with a tragic description of the state of Italy, which is prey to fratricidal destruction (*Pharsalia* I.24–9):

> But now because in the cities of Italy walls hang poised over half-buried houses and huge blocks from collapsed walls lie about, and no guards secure the houses, and only a few inhabitants pick their way among ancient cities, because Italy bristles with brambles and has not been ploughed over many years and the fields cry out in vain for hands to work them . . .

Ruins are not only the image of the past; they are the consequence of the future which awaits empires. Rome, at the time of the Civil War, reverts to nature like Homer's Troy. Devastated buildings, decayed walls, fields abandoned and overgrown attest to a fatal regression. The fields themselves suffer from the absence of man. It is the spectre of the Civil War that explains the retreat of man, this abandonment of nature to itself. The theme is recurrent in the *Pharsalia*. It is expressed with the same verbal violence in book VII, 391–6:

> Then every Latin name will be a fable; their dust-covered ruins will scarce be able to reveal Gabii, Veii and Cora, and the household gods of Alba and the dwellings of Laurentum, an empty country which none shall inhabit save some senator compelled against his will to spend an enforced night there complaining of Numa's law. It was not all-consuming time that snatched away these things and abandoned the decayed monuments of the past; it is the guilt of civil war that we see in so many abandoned cities.

By contrast with the *nomen memorabile* of Troy, the Latin phrase *fabula nomen erit* will give rise to fables. The dust-covered ruins are shelter to no one other than a hesitant college of senators obliged to meet in the heart

of the dark night. This is, again, a spectacle of desolation which is due not to the *tempus edax* but to the war which engulfed all of Italy. That war is not heroic: it can only arouse regrets and no grand feelings or colourful memories. However, for the ruins to be granted posterity, they need the poet's song. Without it, only dust remains, cities lose their name, stones no longer have meaning. Lucan addresses Caesar (*Pharsalia* IX.980–6):

> Oh how sacred and supreme is the task of poets! You snatch everything from death and you give immortality to mortal races. Do not begrudge, Caesar, the glory of such fame. For if it is right for the Latin muses to promise anything, as long as the fame of the bard of Smyrna [Homer] endures, those yet to come shall read my poem and your deeds; our *Pharsalia* shall live on and no passing of time shall condemn us to the shades.

Thus, Lucan finds the echoes of Pindar and Simonides. However, while affirming the role of the poet, he inaugurates a poetry of ruins which tends to create a privileged link between monuments, the poet and the visitor, the *monitor*. The actions of great men need a setting to enhance their *virtus*. Caesar who crosses the humble Rubicon embodied revolt and violence, the personification of anger (*Ira*); Caesar who passes the river Xanthus after having returned victorious and defeated his enemy, Pompey, has become 'a mythic figure capable of carrying out a task of mythic dimension' (Green 1991: 282).

Caesar's visit to Troy ends a historical cycle; now that he has given the ruins back to the ruins, now that he has remembered the past, now that he has perceived its grandeur through the desolation of the landscape and the return to nature, he can turn towards the future and breathe new life into Troy, while re-founding Rome, addressing 'the Gods who live within the ruins' (*Pharsalia* IX.998–9):

> In grateful return the sons of Ausonia shall restore their walls to the Phrygians and the Roman Pergama shall arise.

We can understand what the modern reader finds disconcerting in this conception of ruins. Contrary to what Mortier has written (1974: 15–16), ruins and the poetry that goes along with them are very much present in Greek and Roman culture, but they do not occupy the place that has been given to them by our modern sensibilities since the Renaissance. For the ancients, ruins are an abandoned landscape, a liminal space which marks the boundary of the city's world, a place close to which the heroes' exploits are played out. Ruins are not a meeting place, a symbol of evasion and remembrance; they embody nature returned to itself, the erosion of human traces which cannot resist the disappearance of man, itself the consequence of a natural catastrophe or of a war. Mortier formulates this very fine phrase (ibid.): 'Ruins are the presence of an absence'; this means that they are present indirectly in the poetic universe as they are in historical reflection or antiquarian curiosity. If ruins are, at least, the remains of some activity and of some industry of the men who came before us, then they

are a notion firmly integrated into the sensitive experience of the ancients. Dead cities, devastated landscapes haunted by shepherds and their meagre flocks, are the visible traces of once opulent cities. Ruins are what remains, vestiges abandoned not only by men, but also by the gods. When, after the invasion of the Gauls, the Romans plan the re-building of the city, another possibility is suggested, according to Livy. The suggestion is that they settle in the wealthy city of Veii, just conquered at the end of a long siege of ten years, as long as the siege of Troy. Then the victorious hero Marcus Furius Camillus urges the Romans not to abandon Rome (Livy V.30.3):

> He considered it contrary to divine law that a city deserted and abandoned by the immortal gods should be inhabited and that the Roman people should dwell on captive soil and exchange their victorious city for a vanquished one.

The ruins of a city are a sign of fate and of the gods; they break the relationship between its inhabitants and the land which welcomes them. The Romans must stay *solo in quo natis essent*, in the place where they were born. The city imposes its own setting and reality; it is made of memories, of rituals (*tanta monumenta in rebus humanis cernentes*), of so many events which have influence over all things human. The *Monumenta* are the most intimate and strongest expression of the citizens' membership of the city, a privileged relationship between territory and community (Livy V.30.1, V.52.1; Bonfante 1998: 484–5). On this subject, we find an important remark by Halbwachs (1997: 196):

> This explains how spatial images play such a role in collective memory. The place occupied by a group is not like a blackboard on which one write numbers and figures and then rubs them out. How could the image on the board recall what one has drawn there, since it is indifferent to numbers and because, on the same board, one can reproduce all the figures one wants ? No. But the place has received the imprint of the group, and vice versa. So, all the actions taken by the group can be translated into spatial terms and the place occupied by the group is only the coming together of all these terms. Each aspect, each detail of this place has of itself a meaning which can only be understood by members of the group because all the parts of the space which it has occupied correspond to as many different aspects of the structure and life of their society, at least to what was most stable in it. Certainly, exceptional events are also relocated in this spatial framework, but because, when they occurred, the group became more sharply aware of what it had been for a long time and what it remains up until the present, and because the ties that attached it to the place appeared to it in sharper focus at the moment when those ties were going to break.

The imperial cities of the present can read in the ruins what their future might be. The heroes of the Epics, like the actors of the Tragedies, were very conscious of this but that remained a marginal poetic theme, something of which Mortier's formula takes full account.

Yet, with the writing of the *Pharsalia*, something changed – the ruin is freed from its confines or from marginality to become the setting for an event which is also an advent: the emergence of a universal empire. Ruins are not the pretext for a philosophical jaunt or for a poetic entertainment; they are the landscape necessary for the making of a coming world. In this sense, Lucan is innovating and outlines ways towards a new pact with ruins: that of the empire which is being heralded. Caesar is more than a traveller, more even than a pilgrim; the landscapes he visits in pursuit of Pompey are not of the sort we come to admire through a taste for solitude and complicity with the past. The landscapes embody theatres of military operations, the places where the great captains of the past won fame, whose actions are a model for the rival warlords in competition for the government of Rome. The visit to the mythological shores of the Troad has the value of unction, making the victor even more victorious. In the Troad he begins an initiatory journey into the past which is the guarantee of his *imperium* in the future. Rome is a new Troy; the fugitives, led by Aeneas, have crossed an inhospitable Mediterranean to found a city that can lay claim to universal empire. Hence the therapeutic virtue of ruins. What Caesar went to seek on the other side of the sea was certainty about his destiny, following Lucan's very words (IX.985–6): *Pharsalia nostra vivet, et a nullo tenebris damnabimur aevo*, 'Our *Pharsalia* (that of Caesar and the poet) shall live on and no passing of time shall condemn us to the shades'. However, the concern for fame, the obsession with *kleos* so dear to the Greeks are present in a new form: that of a collaboration between the poet and the hero. The place where this takes place is the *nomen memorabile Troiae*: a space in which the magic of the place is combined with that of the Word. Ruins by themselves are not enough; they require the poets for their grandeur to be reflected on the hero.

And, certainly, to nuance the criticism levelled at Mortier, Latin poetry will not see an autonomous poetic of ruins any more than Greek poetry does. It remains to be said that, by combining the sumptuous setting of the Troad with Caesar's imperial success, Lucan paves the way for a new aesthetic of ruins which will be that of the Age of Augustus, as it is conventionally known. This is a poetry that combines the cult of the prince and remembrance by creating a new equilibrium between memory and oblivion.

Poetry goes beyond the ruins

Ever since ancient Greece and even ancient Egypt, poets have seen themselves as guarantors of memory and have not hesitated to proclaim that they fear competition neither from architects, nor from sculptors, nor even from painters to ensure the fame of their patrons. No one else has gone further, or with more efficacy, than Horace in challenging all forms of erosion and destruction. Simonides and Pindar planned to fight the passage of time by means of the structure of their verses, by working both patiently and stubbornly on the sculpture and the masonry of their words, the organisation

of which becomes so solid that it is similar to the perfect surface of a stele or to the immaculate façade of a *thēsauros*. Having reached this state of perfection, the poem is more solid than stone or bronze because it escapes from any material corruption. Ode III.30 from Horace 'to himself' is, without a doubt, the most ambitious incarnation in the genre:

> I have achieved a monument more lasting than bronze, and higher than pyramids raised for kings, which neither devouring rain nor violent wind can tear down, nor the numberless succession of years, nor the passage of time. I shall not completely die, and a large part of me will escape Libitina goddess of death: I will grow ever fresh with posterity's praise. As long as the pontifex climbs the Capitol with silent [Vestal] virgin, I shall be recited where furious Aufidus roars, and where parched Daunus ruled his rustic people, grown to greatness though of humble birth, the first to have adapted Aeolian song to Italian measures. Accept, Melpomene, the proud honour won by your merits, and freely wreathe my hair with Apollo's laurel.

This poem, without a doubt one of the finest in Latin, is also one of the works which maximises the structural tension between the immateriality of the poetic works and the materiality of monuments of art and monuments to memory. It uses a metre, the lesser Asclepiad, which imposes a rigid structure on the poet. It leads to a highly condensed expression and to systematic elisions, which make the poem more compact. All of this tends to give an impression of massiveness and solidity. The material dimension of the ode aims to have the poem take its place in the tradition of funerary epigrams, a tradition well known to the ancients, and one of the most widespread and most practised memory tools in both the Latin and the Greek traditions. In having recourse to the Asclepiad, Horace intends to make us aware of how naturally the poem fits into a Greek poetic tradition which he adapts to the concision of Latin. The poem is constructed of material as dense as bronze or stone: it is not composed, it is built (*exigere*; see Galinsky 1996: 352). Horace could have used many other words which form part of the vocabulary of funerary inscriptions, such as *aedificare*, *locare*, *facere* and *absolvare*, but *exigere* takes on a stronger consonance, that of achievement, of a work which is the product of a meticulous *savoir faire* like that of the poets of the Greek tradition. In this way, Horace claims a continuity not only with his predecessors Simonides, Pindar or Bacchylides, but also with the most classic of orators who, like Isocrates, affirm that their speeches are more beautiful than an offering of bronze (Isoc. *Antidosis* 7).

Once perfectly finished, the work is a *monumentum*, yet another word from a specialised lexis, that of those who want to mark their time on earth, with a trace which attests (*monet*) their presence. The *monumentum* is something different from the *thēsauros*; it is a *mnēma,* an object of memory. In choosing this word, Horace takes a different posture from Pindar and the Greek poets: for them poetic composition is an object which enters into competition with works of art and which surpasses them because it

is alive, passed from speaker to speaker. The *monumentum* is more than that because it is in itself a memory object. Horace does not claim readers as propagators of his work; he considers his work to be so finished that it takes its reader captive and subjects him. The poem is not to be identified with a monument, however prestigious it might be. It incorporates qualities which are characteristic of bronze – statues, votive objects, inscriptions – and other qualities associated with architecture. That it is more lasting (*perennius*) than bronze seems an evident property, but that it is higher (*altius*) than the royal pyramids is a trait which would have no place in Pindar's work. The monument that the poet erects for himself is as imposing as the one which his protector Augustus has built on the shores of the Tiber. As the pyramids outweigh the modest funerary architecture of Greek cities, so Horace's meta-poem crushes everything that had been composed before it. It is a piece which reflects its century and the gigantic buildings of the Empire. With a construction which is unparalleled, the poem fears nothing: neither voracious water nor wind can destroy it (*diruere*, meaning to transform into ruins), any more than the long accumulation of years or the passage of time. This immortal edifice incorporates in its very foundations the indestructible contribution of the author: Lucan contented himself with affirming the immortality of his verses.

After having exhibited his work, the poet speaks in the first person. To ensure his immortality, Horace could have attributed to it an existence as long as the sun and the earth, in the style of Theognis of Megara, or as long as the mixing of water and wine, in the style of Anacreon (Galinsky 1996: 352). He prefers having recourse to another image of Rome's continuity represented by its rites: as long as the city lives, the pontiff will climb the steps of the Capitol accompanied by the mute virgin. He will chant the repetition of the ritual, just as the metre of the Asclepiad gives rhythm to the poem's progress. Like Augustus, once more the poet wants to be *princeps*, the first to be able to import Greek poetic rhythms into Latin, one who has risen from poverty to power, like the city of which he sings.

The immense literary reputation of this poem echoes the serene infatuation of its author, and the posterity of this theme spans centuries and civilisations. It occupies a central place in the poetics of ruins because it establishes a bridge between the Egyptian and Greek views of the decay of material works and of the permanence of the creations of the mind. Lucan revisits the past to ensure the future; Horace projects himself into the future by forging such a dense, resistant and lofty work that it dominates all of the existing architecture of memory. In his address to himself, Horace speaks of Rome; he takes up again the theme that was forged so well by Lucan, of the destiny which unites princes and poets; without the latter, conquerors or governors face oblivion. What is majestically expressed here clearly appears in another ode in book IV, no. 8:

> I would give generously to my comrades, Censorinus, libation bowls and welcome bronzes, I would give tripods, the prizes of Greek athletes, nor would you carry off the poorest of my gifts, if only, of course, I was rich in works that Parrhasius or Scopas created, the latter skilful in marble,

> the former in liquid colours, able to portray now a human, now a god. But I do not possess that power and neither your position nor your spirit is in need of such luxuries. You rejoice in poems; we can provide poems and define the worth of such a tribute. Not marble engraved with public inscriptions, whereby breath and life return to successful commanders after their death, . . . and you would not receive any reward if writings were silent about your good deeds . . . The Muse forbids the man worthy of praise to die; the Muse blesses him with heaven.

The ode to Marcus Censorinus appears as a commentary on the ode which Horace addressed to himself. The poet seems to have returned to greater modesty: he cannot offer his friends precious objects that are products of the art of the silversmith or the worker in bronze, or the works produced by master sculptors and painters, which are inaccessible to him. The very precious memory which the city offers to great men in dedicatory inscriptions does not attain the immemorial quality of poetic works. The poet alone is master of fame: *si chartae sileant*, if what is written is silent, then there is no memory. The muse, cited twice – *Musa vetat mori*, *caelo musa beat* –forbids death and blesses us with heaven.

This ode, so close to Pindar, is, however, distinguished from his works by its reference to history. The poetry of the Greeks appeals to the experience of the senses to justify the primacy of immaterial works over material creations. We can see the decrepitude which threatens monuments, the patina which tarnishes the brightness of metals, the effect of light on the quality of paintings; we can admire the incorruptible permanence of words in the tenor of the poem. Latin poetry appeals to history, it makes a *monumentum* of the poem, which goes beyond the pure mnemonic function to praise the memory of great men. Just as commemorative statues stand in public places, the *monumenta* built by poets exist in people's memories; we read them and recite them.

But what, ultimately, is a *monumentum*? The Greeks had *sēmata* and *mnēmata*: signs inscribed in the landscape which indicate the presence of a past. These are strong words, close to one another, yet which refer to different notions: *sēmata* are traces which can mean any sort of alteration or modification of the environment or architecture; *mnēmata* are ballasted by weight from memory, they are the mark of a human action which is recalled to mind. They are linked to *erga*, the actions and works of man taken all together. And this explains a distance, in Herodotus at least, in relation to ruins (*ereipia*). What interests Herodotus is not what existed, but what remains (Immerwahr 1960: 271). Here, we have an attitude that hardly leaves any room for ruins.

According to Varro, the meaning of *monumentum* in Latin is close to *mnēma* but once again with some lexical differences (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* VI, 49; see Baroin 2010: 24–5):

> So also the *monimenta* (memorials) which are on tombs, and in fact alongside the highway, that they may *admonere* (admonish) the passers-by that they themselves were mortal and that the readers are too.

The funerary dimension of *monumentum* seems more marked than that of *mnēma,* but Varro himself comments (ibid.):

> 'From this, the other things that are written and done to preserve their *memoria* (memory) are called *monimenta* (monuments).

A definition given by Festus (*de Sig. Verb.* 123) nuances the use of the word:

> *Monumentum* refers to something which has been constructed following a death and everything that is created in memory of someone, like a temple, a portico, a piece of writing or a song.

Therefore, in Latin as in Greek, the terms *monumentum/mnēmeion* can designate a material object just as much as an oral or written work.

Horace's works and those of the poets who were his successors cannot, then, be separated from a whole memorial tradition which gives an important place in the landscape to memories of the departed. As the notion of *sēma* implies, that space is marked by more or less intelligible signs of the activity of men in the past. Over time, burial mounds, boundary stones and stelae are progressively replaced by funerary inscriptions, which offer chosen words to the passer-by. An inscription from the beginning of the sixth century BC, to be seen at Methana, is a concise and subtle play on words (cited in Haüsle 1980: 2):

> After my father Eumares had raised the tumulus (*sēma*) of Androkles he buried me, a memorial (*mnēma*) of a beloved son.

The erection of a monument is an act of piety; it implies a complicity between the past, the present and the future. The Mesopotamians hid messages from present kings to future kings at the base of their extravagant constructions. From ancient times onwards the Greeks turned their necropolises into places of remembrance embodying the memory of the departed. The development of this practice leads to the creation of funerary literature influenced by poetry, and this, in turn, shapes a part of the poetic experience. If each person is destined to receive a *mnēma*, both a funerary monument and an epigram which recalls private memories of the deceased and the sorrow of his relatives, then we realise that the poetry of Pindar, Sappho or Simonides strives to promote memory and to combat oblivion. Funerary epigrams are to everyday life what poems are to the the symbolic: *mnēmata* destined to guarantee the exploits and the *kleos* of great men. The domestication of memory is no longer associated with rulers alone, but allows the whole of society to engage in a sophisticated exercise in the practice of recollection.

Funerary inscriptions are addressed to passers-by; they are, at one and the same time, a text and a lyric; they can be made part of a monument and an image: thus, over time, dedicators employ the different figures of memory in all their diversity, in the permanent tension between the immateriality of words and the materiality of the tomb. Thus, the complexity of

this type of composition appears dramatically in a relief of Kula of the second century AD (Haüsle 1980: 72):

> You ask me, visitor, what is this stele, what is this tomb (*tumbos*)
> What is the image (*eikōn*) newly carved on the stele.
> Son of Tryphon, I bear the same name as he.
> I have covered fourteen cycles of life,
> Such was I at one time, being stele, tomb (*tumbos*), stone, image (*eikōn*).

This context allows us to grasp better the cultural field in which funerary poetry develops. For the Greek and Roman worlds funerary poetry, in my view, plays the same role as the poetry of ruins has in Europe since the Renaissance. Through the dialogue that they start between the living and the dead, thanks to remembrance strategies that they develop, funerary inscriptions create, within the culture of cities, a kind of discipline of the memory that accompanies citizens in the various acts they undertake in daily life. Cities are covered not only with these private dedications, but also, as Horace highlights in the ode dedicated to Marcus Censorinus (IV.8.13–15), with 'marble engraved with public inscriptions, whereby breath and life return to good commanders'. This practice of memory is not confined to the funerary sphere, but permeates the whole life of the city. Cicero attributes to Cato the Elder the following remark, which tells us a great deal about customs of remembrance (*Cato the Elder on Old Age* 21):

> I know not only the people who are living but their fathers and grandfathers as well, and as I read the epitaphs on their tombs I am not afraid of what is commonly said, that I will lose my memory; for by reading these very words I refresh my memory of the dead.

The *memento mori* is part of the strict discipline of the ancient city; it is a form of deference paid to the departed and a way of expressing the continuity of generations, as well as a kind of social knowledge, the soul of political life. Visits to the tombs and the pious reading of funerary and dedicatory inscriptions are a mental exercise, a tool which contributes to strengthening the presence of the departed and pacifying relationships between the dead and the living. Cato the Elder has no time for those who fear that too exclusive an attention paid to the departed threatens the mnemonic capacity of those who, like him, are not content to live in the present but strive to create a virtual community between the generations. In this way, poetry and funerary epitaphs are part of a civic culture which makes the past accessible and brings it close, which sets a balance between memory and oblivion. Of course, over time, this balance may have varied and been diversified, but it is evidence for a constant in Greek and Roman tradition which we find in other forms in ancient Egypt (Assmann 1991). Just as the recitation of the poem safeguards it from oblivion, so the reading of the funerary epigram, however worn the monument may be, however eroded the inscription may be, is a guarantee of continuity, a precaution against oblivion.

A splendid example of this relationship with the past is given to us by Ausonius in his epitaphs of the heroes (*Epit.* 32):

> *On the Name of a certain Lucius Engraved on Marble*
>
> One letter shows up clearly, marked off with a double stop: thus, L: Next M is engraved – somehow thus, I think, M; for the broken top is flaked away where the stone is cracked, and one cannot see the whole letter. No one can know for certain whether a Marius or Metellus lies here. With their forms mutilated, all the letters are confused, and when the characters are mixed up all their meaning is lost. Are we to wonder that man perishes? His monuments decay, and death comes even to his marbles and his names.

Ausonius brings together the genre of funerary poetry and a philological and antiquarian exercise. The poem endures as long as the inscription, but when this is no longer legible, when the letters progressively disappear, when the sculpted image is a series of truncated fragments, all becomes chaos. Of course, we find here the common fate of things and beings: man disappears, monuments erode, death even comes to stones and names. The continuity between this fourth-century poem and Lucan's expression in the *Pharsalia* (IX.969), *etiam periere ruinae* (even the ruins have perished), is evident. Ausonius turns the passage of time into much more than a funerary epigram, demonstrating his attention to the work of the stonecutter and his own agility in mastering the epigraphic method of comparison. He effects a sort of scholarly transfer between poetry and ruins which is very reminiscent of the nostalgia which ruins inspired during the Renaissance.

If the sense of time passing, the impression of the instability of things human, are so deeply rooted in the Greek and Roman view of the present, it is very much the case that, in Greece as in Rome, the history of man is above all the history of cities and their fate. Historians are concerned with defining its rhythms and the causes, and poets are concerned with exploring its symbolic variations. Ruins are not at the heart of this type of poetics, they are its consequence; there is a direct relation between the dead city and the future city (Labate 1991 is inspiring on this). The *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* share the common element of telling the story of an extraordinary event – the destruction of an emblematic city, Troy, conceived as being an *exemplum* of fate: 'An ancient city falls in ruins, after long years of rule' (Virgil, *Aeneid* II.363); the loss of Ilion (*Iliou persis*) marks the beginning of historical time for the Greeks, and the birth of Rome for the Latins. This tale constitutes, then, a horizon of reference which permeates the idea of the city profoundly in the twin awareness of its permanence and, at the same time, its vulnerability.

Ovid's *tempora verti* corresponds to Propertius' *omnia vertuntur* (II.8.7): reversibility is part of human experience and, as Cicero and Seneca the Younger suggest, those who forget this run the risk of falling into very deep depression. What are private sorrows or the death of someone near to us, when we see the corpses (*cadavera*) of so many dead cities? The long list of abandoned cities rings like a death knell, and, alongside

Troy, Carthage is one of the most painful examples of a city which has gone down from the peak of history to total destruction. The inspired pen of the poet in such a context is sometimes replaced by that of the historian. Polybius describes Scipio Aemilianus, the conqueror of Carthage, in charge of operations and overwhelmed by the spectacle of the death of the enemy city (XXXVIII.21):

> Turning to me and grasping me by the hand Scipio said: 'A glorious moment, Polybius, but I have an unaccountable fear that one day someone else will give the same order with regard to my own native land.'

The poetics of ruins are here replaced by the ethics of war, which lead the general to identify himself with the vanquished enemy, whose city is being razed to the ground. Polybius' commentary stresses the historical dimension of such a remark, which allows man to think about the reversibility of human affairs. For his part, Appian gives a slightly different version. After having evoked the infinite succession of empires and the *diadochē* (the Assyrian people, the Medes, the Persians and Macedonians), Scipio Aemilianus is reported to have spoken the following verses (Hom. *Il.* VI.448–9, *ap*. Polyb. XXXVIII.22 and Appian, *Punica* CXXXII.628–9): 'There will come a day when sacred Ilios shall perish, and Priam, and the people of Priam of the strong ashen spear.'

For the Latins, history always repeats itself; the Trojan disaster is included at the heart of all the historical tragedies as a model endlessly varied. This theme introduces a particular moral attitude, shown in the lamentations of destruction, such as that of Marcellus ordering the assault on Syracuse (Livy XXV.24.11).

Conversely – we saw this with Horace – the immortality claimed by the new Troy is assured by repeating the ritual of the pontiff accompanied by the vestal virgin going up the Capitoline Hill. Virgil takes up the theme to exalt the Capitol as the seat of an almost universal power (*Aeneid* IX.448–9): 'as long as the house of Aeneas dwells on the immovable rock of the Capitol and the father of the Romans retains his empire'. Imperial and immortal Rome – the tradition has a long history. Those who, like Horace and Virgil, sing of the new eternal city knew Rome when it suffered the torments of the Civil War (Horace, *Epodes* XVI.1–14):

> Now a second generation is being ground down by civil wars and Rome is rushing to ruin by her own strength: she whom neither the neighbouring Marsians had the power to destroy, nor the Etruscan bands of threatening Porsena, nor the rival power of Capua, nor fierce Spartacus, nor the Gaul disloyal in times of trouble; nor did wild Germany with its blue-eyed youth subdue it, nor Hannibal accursed by parents. This land we shall destroy, an impious generation of cursed blood, and once again it will be possessed by wild beasts. Alas, a barbarian conqueror will tread down her ashes and a horseman will strike the city with clattering hooves and – a sin to behold – will arrogantly scatter Quirinus' bones that now are protected from wind and sun.

The city can resist all external attacks, all the threats that are represented by its dangerous neighbours or its distant enemies, but it cannot cope with Civil War, in what the Greeks called *stasis*, destruction from the inside, leaving no way out. The splendour of the new order and the foundation of the Empire are the result of containing the risks of internal war, of the fierce confrontation of citizens, one against the other. For the ancients, the death of cities is a return to primitive barbarity; the beasts alone will once again (*rursus*) occupy the land. In the definition by Georg Simmel (1965), ruins are the return of cultivation to nature; the monument made from materials extracted from the ground is restored to its original function. The Romans were very aware of this dimension (Labate 1991: 174), and they explained it by the ambiguity of a tool which, in the Roman tradition, symbolises the virtues of civilisation *par excellence*: the plough. The plough clears the land; it makes fit for agriculture the wild lands which open up to colonisation by man; but, at the same time, it is the tool of destruction, which, after defeat and the demolition of walls and buildings, removes the last traces of the cursed city. Isidore of Seville has this extraordinary formula (*Etymologicum* XV.2.4: Labate 1991: 174): *Urbs aratro conditur, aratro vertitur* ('The city is founded by the plough and destroyed by the plough').

This view of the relationships between the disappearance of cities and the frontier between nature and cultivation is at the heart of the Latin conception of ruins. It leads to classic oppositions, such as mineral/vegetable, human/animal, big/small, populated/deserted, object/noun, as Mario Labate has clearly demonstrated (1991: 174–5). It gives order to the relationship with the past and the categories which structure it. The city is a mineral world from which wild beasts are excluded, composed of imposing monuments, where the community of citizens lives; it is a well-identified material place which offers a certain opulence. Dead cities are ruins overrun by animals, where the monuments have disappeared along with the men who lived in them; reduced to the poverty which afflicts the survivors, such cities are a memory (*nomen*) of past grandeur. Ruins are not a residual space coextensive with the habitat of man, a symbolic area which displays the traces of the past; they are an abandoned place, almost a cursed place which reminds man of the fragility of his existence. It is not sufficient unto itself; it becomes a tool for exploring an imagined past, which is the foundation of the present. The fall of Troy, destroyed and abandoned, is the primitive scene, always called upon to reflect on a past which seems, in being quoted and documented so often, not to be able to 'pass away'. In any case, for the poets of the Augustan age, the *Iliou persis* constitutes the foundational element of a whole vision of the past, as much as of the future.

The new empire which is heralded offers poets a way of setting their songs on more solid foundations, on firmer structures than their predecessors. Faced with the shadow of the Civil War, it is important to them to ensure a restoration of stability, to make a *tabula rasa* of the crises which threatened, as Horace puts it, to cause 'the hooves of the horse

of the victorious barbarian' to be heard in the city. And so, returning to the past, the reading of Varro's *Antiquities* is one of the instruments in the remaking of a conception of history and of passing time; a tradition that exalts the primitive past, which tries to establish both continuity and contrast between the age of Augustus and the Trojan origins of Rome. Augustus and his poets, likewise his historians, strive to make the capital of Latium the seat of a universal empire which is comparable to no other. The Empire needs ruins, not partially collapsed monuments which date back to the most distant ages, but an imaginary topography based on a memory which contrasts with the present. On both the Palatine Hill and the Capitoline Hill tradition protected two examples of huts covered with thatch which were considered to be the house of Romulus (see Vitruvius II.1.5 and Virgil, *Aeneid* VIII.64 for the house on the Capitol). Thereafter many poetical works did not hesitate to construct a narrative of origins around these meagre *realia*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells in great detail of the archaic nature of life in primitive Latium and insists on the devotion of the Romans who, in his time, displayed Romulus' hut (I.79.11):

> Theirs was a herdsmen's life, and they lived by their own toil mostly on the mountains where they constructed tents of wood and reeds, including the roofs. One of these, called the hut of Romulus, remained up to my time on the flank of the Palatine Hill that faces the Circus; those in charge of such matters keep it sacred, adding nothing to render it more majestic, but if any part suffers injury either by weather or time they repair what remains, restoring it as closely as possible to its former condition.

Poets aim to fight against the ravages of time through magic and the elegance of their well-fashioned verses, sculptors through the grace of their statues, architects through the solidity of their walls. Dionysius of Halicarnassus suddenly makes us hear quietly different music. Those anonymous characters who are charged with protecting Romulus' hut are responsible for ensuring its protection as time and the passing seasons go by. They do not restore it with more resistant materials in order to give it a more majestic (*semnoteron*) appearance, but try to make it identical to how it used to look by using traditional techniques. This is the proof that the Romans did not neglect a form of relationship with the past concerned with authenticity and with the materiality of what remained. The *arte povera* aspect of this conservation technique is what ensures its value. In his *Fasti*, Ovid insists on the unpolished and fragile nature of the *domus* of the founder of Rome (*Fasti* III.183–4): 'If you ask what my son's palace was, gaze upon this house fashioned from reeds and straw.'

Romulus' hut, like the famous Japanese wooden temple of Ise (Reynolds 2001), resists time because it is always the same and always different. The artisans who restore it sparingly contribute to making it exist, like the bards who repeat the poems of the ancients or the passers-by who read aloud funerary epigrams inscribed on tombs.

In the *Metamorphoses* (XV.420ff.) Ovid embraced works of nature and those of man in order to demonstrate that everything was destined to disappear, and after giving an imposing list of deserted cities, he called for the foundation of a new Troy, led by Aeneas. Propertius makes us attend this birth, using the enchanted landscape of the birth of Rome (IV.1.1–28):

> What you see here, stranger, which is now mighty Rome, before Phrygian Aeneas was hills and grass; and where stands the Palatine sacred to Apollo who grants victory at sea, the cattle of exiled Evander bedded together. The golden temples grew from gods made of clay, and a house made without skill was no reproach. The Tarpeian father thundered from a bare rock and Tiber was no stranger to our cattle. Where yon house of Remus supports itself on its staircase, once a single hearth was the brothers' entire kingdom. The senate house, which now shines on high with the purple hem of the senator, held the Fathers, those rustic hearts, clad in skins. A horn summoned the Quirites to debate in earlier times: often a meeting of the senate was just one hundred in a meadow. Nor did the billowing awning hang over the hollow theatre, the stage did not smell of festive saffron. No one cared to seek out foreign gods when the crowd trembled nervously at their ancestral rites. And the annual festival of Pales was celebrated with bonfires of straw, just as now the anniversary is celebrated with the blood of castrated horses. A poor Vesta rejoiced in garlanded asses and lean cattle drew her paltry sacred emblems. Fattened pigs purified the narrow crossroads and the shepherd offered sacrifice of sheeps' innards to the sound of reed-pipes. The ploughman clad in hides applied his hairy blows, from which licentious Fabius Lupercus took the Lupercalia's sacred rite. Nor did the rough soldier gleam in hostile armour; they joined battle naked with fire-hardened stave.

To look into the past, to capture the very moment where everything began, is the poets' objective. Pilgrims can actually visit Romulus' hut; with joyous vigour the verses hark back to the memorable days when everything was new, when everything had just begun. This past is incarnated in a few words: simplicity and poverty. Wooden huts came before the magnificent monuments of the Empire and the golden temples (*aurea templa*) which gleam where flocks grazed. Places of worship reflect the austerity of a pastoral life, showing the flocks led by their shepherds in rustic garb. The Senate itself is nothing but an assembly of shepherds, and the gods are content with the poor offerings due to this constrained way of life – no luxury, no particular amenity. Places and instruments of worship, animals and monuments: everything is smaller than the contemporary reality. War itself is reduced to its simplest expression; all that the soldiers use are wooden clubs. This description is the opposite of a poetry of ruins: there is no munificence, no enormous buildings or precious objects, but a pastoral life, its serenity threatened only by the ambitions of near neighbours.

Primitive Rome is like a smaller-scale model of first-century Rome. Encircled by competitors such as Gabii, Alba Longa and Fedenae, Archaic Rome does not reach the suburbs of the poet's Rome; it resembles the

small Troy that Aeneas and his companions discover on the long road of exile when, on the coasts of Epirus, they land at Buthrotum, in the city built by Helenus and other Trojan refugees (Virgil, *Aeneid* III.349–52):

> I moved forward and recognised a little Troy and a Pergama imitating the mighty city and a dried-up stream given the name Xanthus; I embraced the threshold of the Scaean gate. My Trojans too enjoyed this hospitable city with me.

The miniature Troy in Epirus is like a smaller-scale model of the historic Troy, as the Rome of Romulus is a maquette of the Rome of Augustus. The visit to the landscapes of its foundation is like the opposite, once again, of a visit to its ruins. In place of grandeur, there is smallness; in place of wealth, poverty; instead of buildings, there is vegetation and rocks (Labate 1991: 177). On the route taken by Aeneas there were many foundations that were abandoned. Being unable to found the new Troy on the ruins of Troy, the hero was forced to found the new city in Latium, so very far away. Virgil's description of the discovery of the location of Rome by Aeneas is in another register than that of Propertius, less ethnological and more topological, less primitivist and more linked to a religious symbolism (*Aeneid* VIII.337–63):

> He finished speaking, and moving forward he pointed out the altar of Carmentis and the Carmental gate, as the Romans name it, in honour of the nymph Carmentis long ago, a prophetic seer who first foretold the future greatness of the descendants of Aeneas and the glory of Pallanteum. Next he pointed out the huge grove which fierce Romulus set up as the Asylum, and the Lupercal beneath its chill rock, named in Parrhasian fashion after Lycaean Pan. He also pointed out the grove of the sacred Argiletum and called the place to witness, recounting the death of his guest Argus.
>
> From there he led the way to the Tarpeian rock and the Capitol, golden now, but once bristling with tangled thickets. Already at that time the dread aura of the place terrified the fearful countryfolk, already at that time they shuddered before the wood and the rock. 'This grove', he said, 'this hill with leafy summit some god inhabits (but which god is uncertain). The Arcadians believe they often saw Jove himself, when he shook his dark aegis and stirred the storm clouds with his right hand. Here again you see these two towns with walls in ruins. You are looking at the relics and monuments of men of old. This citadel father Janus founded, this one Saturnus – the former they named Janiculum, the latter Saturnia.'
>
> Amid such talk they approached the house of thrifty Evander and they saw cattle scattered about lowing in the Roman forum and the elegant Carinae. When they arrived at the house, he said, 'These portals the victorious son of Alcaeus entered; this palace received him.'

With Virgil the visit to the places inspired by the birth of Rome follows another logic foretelling their historical and sacral role. To be sure, the inhabitants of Latium are poor people who live in huts, but the sacred

wood is immense, and the gods are present in the forests and terrify the peasants. The area is laden with symbols and history; the hills are the ruins of fortresses built by heroes of ancient times under the leadership of Janus and Saturn. Nature is present here as untamed and waiting to be dominated by untameable masters.

Lucan's ambition was to cast light on the future by the attentive consideration of ruins, which through time had lost the greater part of their majesty, transforming from magnificent edifices into little heaps of remains; Propertius took his readers into edifying landscapes, but somewhat limited by primitive pastoral life. Virgil is closer to a modern sensitivity like that of Diderot; he sees the landscape of primitive Rome as that of a sombre nature inhabited by the inspiration of the gods.

In triumphant first-century Rome, ruins, whether observed with an ancient curiosity, or described as the probable sign of a collapse which threatens the living, imagined as the primitive setting of the foundation or the final scene of its destruction, are a subject of moral reflection, of historical analysis and of decryption of the future. Ruins are not a space, imaginary or real, for meditation or inward reflection. They are the opportunity for reflection on the fragility of cities and the men who build them. Just as the tombstone reads individual death, the destruction of cities and its procession of ruins mark the stages of history. But ruins have another dimension: the insidious effect of time on beings and monuments. Like the Egyptians and the Mesopotamians, the Greeks and the Romans had to face the unavoidable decrepitude of the monuments that they had built, often painstakingly. The poetics of ruins, the words of which escape time, are a sure way of fighting against it.

Note

1. Translations of Greek and Latin texts are by Keith Rutter.

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17

Context Matters: Pliny's *Phryges* and the Basilica Paulli in Rome

Rolf Michael Schneider

Three years with Anthony in Cambridge (1998–2001), at and beyond the Faculty of Classics, have left a profound impression on me. Remembering vivid debates with him I will here ride a hobby horse that both of us share. It concerns the multiple relationship and reading of image, text and context or, in other words, art, archaeology, philology and history. By tackling this, I will re-open an issue touched upon in my book *Bunte Barbaren* (1986: 115–25). My argument is twofold: one strand is the archaeology of the Basilica Paulli (for the name, see below), built on the Forum Romanum in Rome;[1] the other is a misread passage in Pliny's *Natural History* (XXXVI.102) on this building. I will begin my study as an archaeologist and art historian who examines the architecture, sculpture and history of the Basilica Paulli. Next, I will become a philologist who analyses Pliny's passage within its textual tradition and reading of Classical scholarship. Then I will confront the outcome of both and discuss concurrences, differences and blind spots. Finally, I will sketch out a historical framework, which is based not on the deficient premise of *the* intentional reading, but on the practice of intentional readings within the wider context of 'intentionaler Geschichte' (Gehrke 2014: 9–36). Before I go on, however, I need to clarify a problem of terminology. Whenever I speak of statues of Asians and Asian dress, I refer not to all peoples of Asia but to those of Asia Minor and the Near East.

Archaeology and history

In the nineteenth century, remains on the north-eastern side of the Forum Romanum were identified as belonging to the Basilica Paulli (Chioffi 1996: 34–5; Fig. 17.18 below), which had been situated opposite the Basilica Iulia. This identification had been based on ancient texts which are, however, ambiguous in their reading. They attest in the Forum Romanum either a single Basilica Fulvia-Aemilia-Paulli (*communis opinio*) or two separate basilicas, namely an archaeologically unverified Basilica Aemilia and the verified Basilica Fulvia-Paulli. The latter is here called the Basilica Paulli and not the Basilica Aemilia, which is what, confusingly, most scholars have called it.[2] In 1993 Eva Margareta Steinby scrutinised the opposing

statements again and concluded that only the assumption of two separate basilicas, set up in the Forum Romanum in two different areas, would resolve the contradictions in the texts.[3] This, however, is not as obvious as she has argued it to be. The different names and locations depend, at least in some part, on the choices and objectives of the individual writers who mention the above basilica(s) while pursuing their own agenda, and who do not have an academic interest in being accurate as to name and location. These inconsistencies and the lack of verifiable archaeological remains of a separate 'Basilica Aemilia' do not endorse the unambiguous reading Steinby has proposed. I will omit this problem here, as it cannot be resolved and does not affect my argument in a serious manner. More specific than the texts are the archaeological remains of the Basilica Paulli found in this area of the Forum Romanum, as we will see below.

The excavations of the Basilica Paulli began in 1898 (Figs. 17.1–17.2).[4] The essential spadework was done by Giacomo Boni (1898–1905)[5] and was continued by Alfonso Bartoli (until 1939),[6] then by Gianfilippo Carettoni (1946–8)[7] and Riccardo Gamberini Mongenet (1950–4).[8] As a result of this evidence and more than twenty years of painstaking research (1970–90s) Heinrich Bauer, a Classical archaeologist with substantial architectural knowledge, proposed a new reconstruction of the basilica and its chronology in the early imperial period (Fig. 17.3).[9] Around the same time Laura Fabbrini started to investigate the numerous sculptural fragments found inside the basilica by Boni and Bartoli.[10] In collaboration

Figure 17.1 *Rome, Basilica Paulli, from the east. Excavation of Giacomo Boni, c. 1900. Rome. DAI, Heide Behrens: 2014.1082.*

Figure 17.2 *Rome, Basilica Paulli, from the east. 2007. Rome. DAI, Heide Behrens: 2007-1072.*

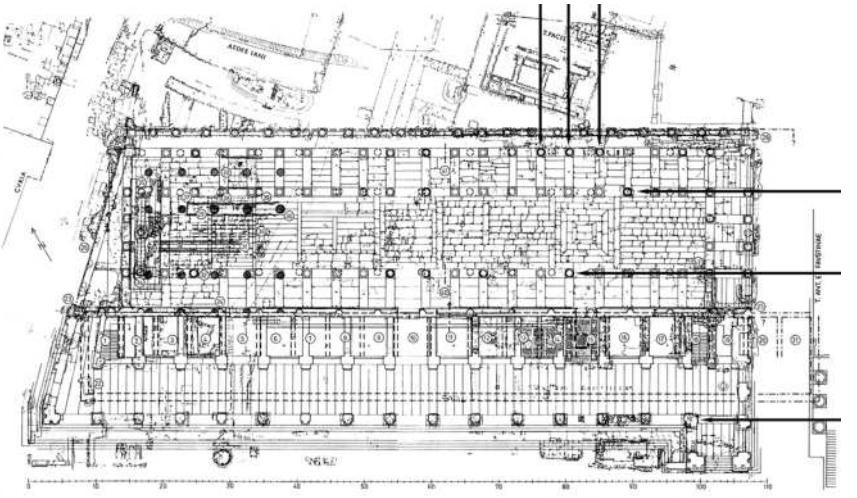

Figure 17.3 *Rome, Basilica Paulli. Ground plan (Heinrich Bauer, 1970s; revised by Johannes Lipps, 2012). After 14* BC. *Tübingen. Johannes Lipps.*

with Heinrich Bauer she established a large series of over-life-sized statues (height c. 2.3–2.4 m) depicting foreigners in Asian dress and sculpted mainly in *marmor Phrygium* (Fig. 17.4).[11] Both scholars assigned them stylistically to the period of Augustus. They also identified the statues' pedestals, made of white marble (width 84–94 cm, height 72–6 cm,

Figure 17.4 *Rome, Antiquario Forense. Reconstruction: handsome Asian statue (Laura Fabbrini and Heinrich Bauer, 1970s). After 14* BC. *Rome. DAI, Heide Behrens: 2007.1812.*

depth 64–6 cm), adorned on the front and the two shorter sides with subtly arranged tendrils (Fig. 17.5a–b). Finally, Fabbrini and Bauer linked eighteen heads in white marble to the statues and fitted one of these heads into a well-preserved Phrygian cap, which had been carved from the same block of Phrygian marble as one of the statues (Figs. 17.6–17.7). The heads show handsome, clean-shaven faces framed by rich locks. Many heads preserve traces of ancient colouring. Bauer read the statues as representations of Parthians holding with raised arm a Roman standard (Fig. 17.8),[12] which refers to the well over a hundred lost to them by Roman armies beginning in 53 BC and eventually regained by Rome in 20 BC (Schneider 2012: 112–19). Regrettably, none of these scholars published their studies.

In 1980 I was allowed to investigate the remains of the basilica's statues set up in Rome's Antiquario Forense, but was denied access to the storerooms and was not given permission to publish the sculptures.[13] On the basis of the accessible fragments I suggested a new reconstruction for the statues, namely with a raised arm in a pose of structural support, and, subsequently, argued in favour of an architectonic and symbolic function (see Fig. 17.13 below). I understood them, then too one-sidedly, to be idealised portrayals of subdued Parthians conceived in the aftermath of 20 BC and related to the so-called settlement of the Parthian question. In 2005 Stefan Freyberger and Christine Ertel initiated the 'Basilica Aemilia Project'. In collaboration with the German Archaeological Institute at Rome they aimed to present a systematic review of the unpublished data; a detailed architectural survey of the remains *in situ*; a new reconstruction (Figs 17.9-17.10) and reading of the basilica in its historical context (preliminary report by Freyberger and

Figure 17.5a–b *Rome, Antiquario Forense. Reconstruction: pedestal of a handsome Asian statue (Laura Fabbrini and Heinrich Bauer, 1970s). After 14 BC. Rome. DAI, Heide Behrens: 2007.2008 and 2007.2010.*

Figure 17.6 *Rome, Antiquario Forense. Handsome Asian head. After 14* BC. *Ravensburg. Tobias Bitterer.*

Figure 17.7 *Rome, Antiquario Forense. Handsome Asian head. After 14* BC. *Rome. DAI, Heide Behrens: 2007.6871.*

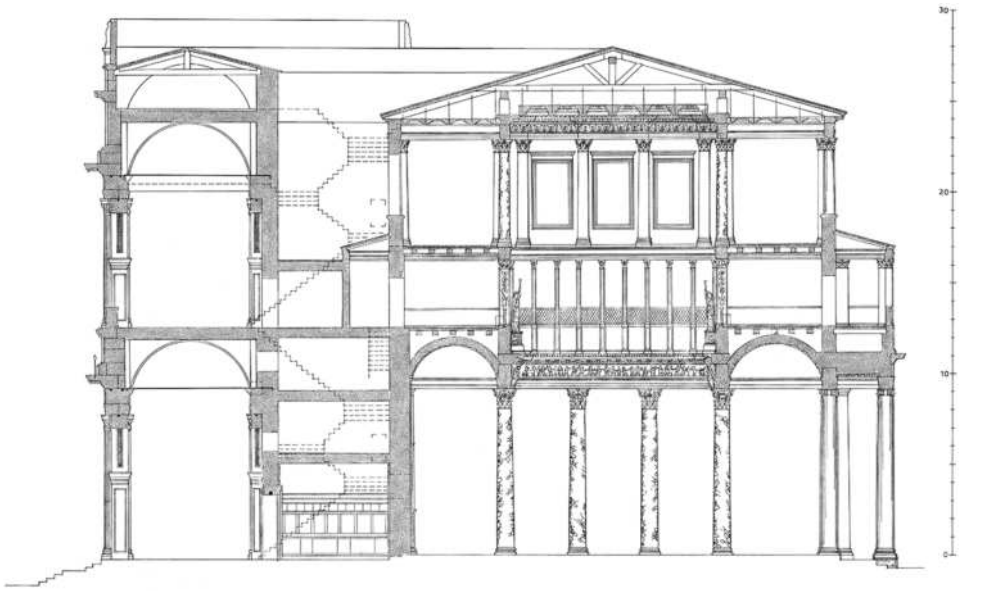

Figure 17.8 *Rome, Basilica Paulli. Cross-section, from the south-east (Heinrich Bauer, 1970s). After 14* BC. *Tübingen. Johannes Lipps.*

Figure 17.9 *Rome, Basilica Paulli. Cross-section, from the north-west (Christine Ertel and Stefan Freyberger, 2007). After 14* BC. *Tübingen. Johannes Lipps.*

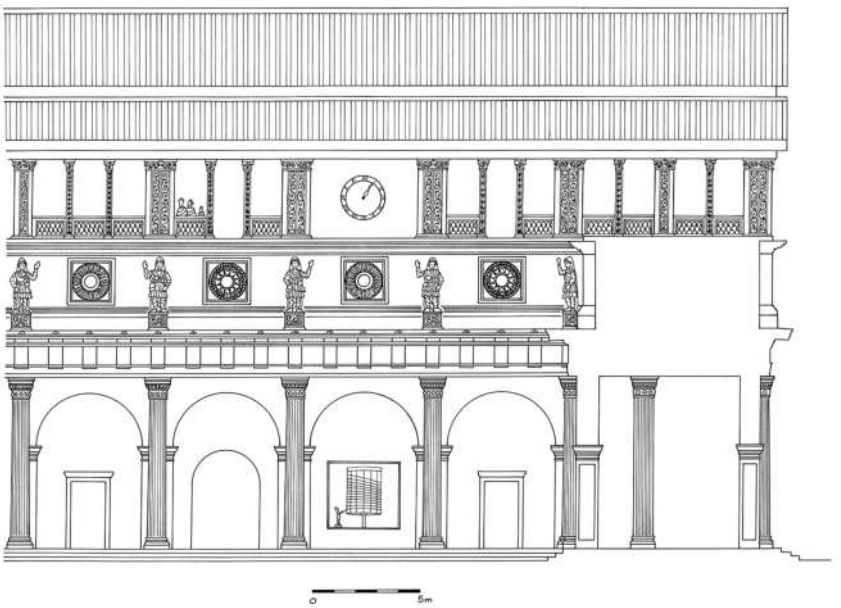

Figure 17.10 *Rome, Basilica Paulli. Reconstruction: façade (Christine Ertel and Stefan Freyberger, 2007). After 14* BC. *Tübingen. Johannes Lipps*

Ertel 2007). Two Classical archaeologists from Munich joined this project: Johannes Lipps to examine the architectural décor and Tobias Bitterer to study the handsome Asians. From a mass of some ten thousand fragments of architectural décor, Lipps (2011) singled out 1,877 pieces, which he linked to the basilica. In allocating 953 pieces to their original setting, he contributed profoundly to the basilica's reconstruction and reading.[14] Tobias Bitterer (2007), on the other hand, scrutinised 718 surviving fragments of the handsome Asians. He confirmed the assumptions proposed in 1986, namely the reconstruction of the raised arm, the architectonic function of the statues and their stylistic dating to the period of Augustus. Bitterer presented in his preliminary report the most essential fragments of the statues including one of their spectacular heads (Figs. 17.6–17.7 above) and a right hand (Fig. 17.11). For the first time, the architectural décor and the key fragments of the Asian statues became widely accessible to scholarship.

The above research produced evidence of three main building phases: deep in the ground, two earlier structures including remains of column settings attributable to but not precisely datable within the Hellenistic period of Rome; and, above these structures, the layout of the basilica built in the period of Augustus. As a consequence, the first two building phases cannot be neatly linked to the major building activities in the second and first century BC as mentioned by ancient authors.[15] The conflicting texts hand down (Lipps 2011: 17–27): a first construction of the basilica by

Figure 17.11 *Rome, Antiquario Forense. Fragment: right hand of a handsome Asian statue. After 14* BC. *Rome. DAI, Heide Behrens: 2007.2765.*

M. Fulvius Nobilior (and M. Aemilius Lepidus?) in 179 BC; the installation of a water clock in 159 BC; the attachment of *imagines clipeati* in the basilica's interior in 78 BC, portraying the ancestors of M. Aemilius Lepidus – also attested by denarii minted by his son in Rome (c. 61–58 BC) which show a double-storey basilica with double-storey colonnades;[16] the construction of a new building around the middle of the first century BC, financed by the Aemilii Paulli and/or Caesar, and inaugurated in 34 BC; a drastic re-building of the basilica financed by M. Aemilius Paullus, his friends and Augustus after a fire in 14 BC (Fig. 17.3 above); and a renovation of the Augustan building in AD 22, which has not yet been identified by the archaeological records (Lipps 2011: 19). Looking back, it has become evident that both the archaeology and the history of the Basilica Paulli are complex and, despite substantial progress within the last forty years, dogged by unsolved or unsolvable problems. But it has also become clear that the Basilica Paulli played a key role in the development of the design of the Roman basilica.

I will now focus more closely on the basilica mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* XXXVI.102). This is essentially the building constructed after 14 BC, a date now established by thorough research into the archaeological,

architectonic and decorative evidence.[17] The Augustan basilica was a most advanced building (Figs. 17.3 and 17.8–17.10 above), measuring from west to east 94.10 m in length and from north to south 25.65 m in width (Lipps 2011: 35). The space was divided by a long central nave, nave aisles on all four sides and a smaller, additional nave aisle in the north. The edifice was (at least) two storeys high. The central nave was supported by a two-storey colonnade, Ionic on the lower and Corinthian on the upper level. The floor and walls of the main naves had been lavishly veneered with white marble from Luna and mottled marbles of distinct colours: yellow-coloured *marmor Numidicum*; multicoloured *marmor Luculleum*, distinguished by its areas of red, beige, white and grey; whitish *marmor Phrygium*, veined with violet and crimson breccia; green-and-white-veined *marmor Carystium*; and pink and grey *portasanta*.[18] The monolithic columns of the basilica were made of *marmor Luculleum* (lower colonnade) and *marmor Carystium* (upper colonnade). They were all smoothly polished and literally highlighted the extensive colouring of the naves. Whereas the interior had been designed in the very latest fashion of Roman architecture and material, the exterior was arranged in a more antiquated style and uniformly clad in white marble as a separate and (probably) single-storey portico of arches, decorated with half-columns and crowned with a high attic (Lipps 2011: 82–127). Overall the façade displayed an unconventional arrangement of Tuscan, Doric and Ionic styles. In short, the edifice stood out with its exceptional design, decoration, craftsmanship and (coloured) marble. Even though these features have been generally accepted, the architectural reconstruction of the upper parts of the Augustan basilica is still the subject of controversial debate (Figs. 17.8–17.10 above).[19] I will come back to this later.

Handsome Asians

To the present day 718 fragments of statues of over-lif-size have been found, mostly inside the basilica, including eighteen heads (Figs. 17.6–17.7 above) and one rather well-preserved right hand (Fig. 17.11 above).[20] The fragments testify to a minimum of eighteen over-life-sized statues of standing Asians measuring about 2.3–2.4 m in height. The clothed parts of the statues had been sculpted in one block of coloured marble, mostly in *marmor Phrygium*, but some also in *marmor Numidicum*. Heads and hands were separately carved in white marble and originally attached to the body, as in the statue of Ganymede in Sperlonga (Fig. 17.16 below).[21] The Asian statues show the same weighted stance and the rich Asian dress: soft shoes, long trousers, a double-belted tunic, a long mantle covering the back and the Phrygian cap (Fig. 17.4 above and Fig. 17.12). Unique in Greek and Roman art, however, is the extravagant combination of a short-sleeved tunic and a new, long-sleeved undergarment. The hair and skin of the clean-shaven faces show intense traces of the original colouring (Figs. 17.6–17.7 above). The handsome faces are framed by long, opulent locks similar to those of mythical figures from Asia Minor, such as Attis, Ganymede

Figure 17.12 *Rome, Antiquario Forense. Torso of a handsome Asian statue. After 14* BC. *Rome. DAI, Heide Behrens: 2007.6608.*

(Fig. 17.16 below), Mithras, Orpheus and Paris (Schneider 2007: 76–8). This stereotype allowed different people of Asia Minor and the Near East to be portrayed as uniform and thus essentially the same, whether past or present, mythical or historical. The style of the statues and their heads, both worked to an exceptional finish, links the Asians to the restoration of the Basilica Paulli after 14 BC.

Obvious clues make it possible to reconstruct the original pose of the basilica statues (Fig. 17.13). The sculptural fragments attest two mirror images characterised by a weighted and a non-weighted leg, either on the left-hand or the right-hand side. The concept of ponderation was complemented by a close correlation of the poses of both arms and legs (Schneider 2007: 72–5). The arm over the weighted leg was raised in an elaborate manner: while the upper arm was stretched horizontally to the side, the lower arm was bent vertically and the hand again horizontally to the side with the palm showing upwards. The position of the arm over the non-weighted leg was a form of antithesis. It pointed diagonally downwards and then back to the body where the hand rested firmly on the hip bone. Hence, the basilica statues were shown in a refined motif of architectural support but without the ability to hold actual weight.[22] The weighted stance and the

Figure 17.13 *Rome, Antiquario Forense. Virtual reconstruction: handsome Asian statue. Antiquario Forense (Tobias Bitterer and Rolf Michael Schneider, 2013). After 14* BC. *Ravensburg. Tobias Bitterer.*

elaborated pose established a potent Roman image of an exotic Asian: a compliant supporter, very handsome, lavishly dressed, richly coloured and stylishly designed (Fig. 17.13). It was a metaphor adopted from Hellenistic art and popular throughout the Roman Empire.[23] A close parallel to the iconography of the basilica statues is the Asian of an architectonic relief, which can be dated to around AD 40 (Fig. 17.15 below).[24] It once adorned (the attic? of) a large grave monument near Avenches measuring originally

Figure 17.14 *Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen. Bronze tablet with inscription (lost in World War II) from Hanisa/Cappadocia. c. 150–100* BC. *Berlin. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen.*

more than 20 m in height. So far so good, but what do we actually know about the architectonic setting of handsome Asians when they act as figures of support? A case in point is a bronze tablet with a Greek inscription framed on each side by a fluted Corinthian column (Fig. 17.14).[25] A handsome Asian, set up on top of the right-hand column, acts as a support figure under the entablature — most of which is missing. This makes the tablet the earliest known example representing a handsome Asian in the pose of the basilica statues. Found in faraway Cappadocia and attributed to the later second century BC, the inscription records that the *demos* of the otherwise unknown city of Hanisa bestowed a golden wreath upon a certain Apollonios. To sum up, the handsome Asian acting as a support was conceived as an integral element of architecture and as such was inherently related to the building it adorned. Generally, the handsome Asian was set up above a ground-floor colonnade, be it as a free-standing sculpture or as a figure carved out of a pillar or a half-column.[26]

Reconstructing the basilica

As it has become evident that the handsome Asian is a vital component of the architectonic blueprint of the Basilica Paulli, I will now tackle the

building's reconstruction, which has caused an ongoing controversy. Two opposing reconstructions have been presented. In the 1970s, Bauer proposed a two-storeyed building with an additional mezzanine in which he placed the handsome Asians based on the decorated pedestals mentioned above, a gallery of, all in all, forty over-life-sized statues (Figs. 17.4–17.7 and 17.12–17.13 above).[27] The pedestals (Fig. 17.5a–b above) were set on large matching marble blocks (*console geisa*) projecting beyond the horizontal *geison* of the lower colonnade. The statues were related to pilasters and capitals which were, like the pedestals, decorated with tendrils (Lipps 2001: 25–7). According to Bauer (1977; 1988; 1993b) the portico facing the Forum Romanum was a separate, two-storeyed building crowned with a high attic (Fig. 17.8 above). Freyberger and Ertel (2007) suggested a different reconstruction: a two-storeyed basilica in connection with a separate, one-storey portico crowned with a high attic in which they place the handsome Asians (Figs. 17.9-17.10 above).[28] Here the portico also serves as a substructure for a large terrace roofed over with a pergola-like construction, supported by the decorated pilasters and capitals which Bauer had placed in his mezzanine (Fig. 17.8 above).

As the Basilica Paulli is a most exceptional building of which crucial architectonic elements are missing, it comes as no surprise that both proposals have shortcomings. One, in particular, is the currently unsolvable problem of how to reconstruct the basilica's upper storey(s). In a smart move, Bauer added to the basilica a mezzanine (Fig. 17.8 above), for which, however, there is no hard proof on site and no structural parallel in Roman architecture.[29] As there is no matching entablature, he misread the handsome Asians, as we have seen, as Parthians presenting with raised arm a Roman standard (Schneider 2012: 112–19). In doing so, he invented an iconography of standing Asians which does not exist and which can be refuted by the fragment of a right hand (Fig. 17.11 above). Bauer's further argument for a two-storeyed portico is not substantiated by the evidence (Lipps 2011: 127 with n. 727).

The weak point of the Freyberger–Ertel reconstruction is their design of the upper part of the portico (Figs. 17.9–17.10 above). Here they locate two sets of architectural decoration: in front of the attic a gallery of fifteen handsome Asians and on top of the portico the decorated pilasters and capitals. The Freyberger–Ertel reconstruction fails for a variety of reasons:

1. Most of the fragments of the Asian statues were found not in front of the portico but inside the basilica (Bitterer 2007: 535–9).
2. The allocatable architectonic elements distinguished by coloured marble or detailed decoration belong to the basilica's naves but not to the portico (Lipps 2011: 149).
3. None of the portico's *geison* blocks show traces of the footings of the Asians' pedestals, which they would have done if they had been set up here (Lipps 2011: 148).
4. Even worse, the *geison* blocks do not allow enough depth to accommodate the pedestals (Lipps 2011: 149).

Figure 17.15 *Avenches, Musée Romain. Architectural relief from a large local grave monument. c.* AD *40. Castella and Flutsch 1990: 25 fig. 9.*

5. The hand of a handsome Asian statue is stretched out in an unmistakable pose of support (Fig. 17.11 above) as part of an established iconographic and architectonic tradition (Fig. 17.14 above and Fig.17.15).[30]
6. As there was no entablature, Freyberger and Ertel also changed the motif of the Asians' raised arm; but unlike Bauer they made it look like the arm of a policeman stopping the traffic (Fig. 17.10 above).

What can we deduce from all this? The Freyberger–Ertel reconstruction requires substantial revision. Bauer's reconstruction of the basilica's lower storey is structurally by and large plausible,[31] up to placing the handsome Asians and their pedestals on top of the projecting *console geisa*, which rested on the lower colonnade of the main nave. The architectonic and iconographic evidence supports the assignment of the statues together with the adorned pedestals, pilasters and capitals to the basilica's upper zone. But how this could be reconstructed constitutes a major puzzle which currently cannot be solved.

Pliny's *Phryges*

Around AD 70 Pliny listed the Basilica Paulli among the most magnificent buildings of the world. But as archaeologists and philologists have misread

Pliny's text, they have failed to recognise why he rated the basilica as one of the world's three most beautiful works.[32] A comprehensible understanding emerges only when one examines the philological and archaeological evidence together. As a first step I will present Pliny's passage in the context of book XXXVI following the established Latin text:[33]

> (101) But it is time to pass on to the architectonic wonders of our own city and look closely at our ability to learn over the last eight hundred years, and show that here too we have conquered the world. You will see that these victories have occurred almost as often as the wonders have been cited. In fact, if you heaped up all the architectonic wonders and threw them into a single pile, such grandeur would arise as to make you think that no less than another world was being described in one and the same place. (102) Even if we do not mention amongst our great achievements the Circus Maximus built by the dictator Caesar – as long as three stadia and as wide as one, with its buildings covering about three acres and seats for two hundred and fifty thousand – should we not include in our magnificent works the basilica of Paul[l]us, which is admired for its columns of Phrygians or the forum of Divus Augustus or the temple of Peace of Vespasianus Imperator Augustus, all of which are the most beautiful buildings the world has ever seen?

All editors of Pliny's text agreed that the Basilica Paulli was admired for its 'columns of Phrygians', read as 'columns made of Phrygian marble'.[34] This reading, however, is problematic for several reasons. Remains of such columns have never been found. Early attempts to discover them and claims that they were later reused in Rome's San Paolo fuori le mura proved to be wrong (Lanciani 1899). To cut a long story short, the archaeological evidence allows us to draw one conclusion only: such columns never existed. In fact, the basilica columns were, as noted above, made not of *marmor Phrygium*, but of *marmor Luculleum* and *marmor Carystium*. The distinct colouring of the three marbles makes it unlikely that Pliny mixed up the names, especially in his book about (coloured) stones. The reading of *columnis e Phrygibus* also fails to explain why Pliny praised the former as particularly admirable but excluded the columns in coloured marble which adorned the other two most beautiful works in the world, namely the forum of Augustus and Vespasian's temple of Peace.[35] The three wonders were set up in the immediate neighbourhood and, hence, competed with each other (Fig. 17.18 below). What is more, philological arguments are against the established reading. When identifying the mostly non-Roman origin of marble, Pliny does not refer to it by the noun of the people whose territory supplied the material. He uses an adjective, a location, a quality or the name of an eminent individual, for example *marmoris Numidici* (V.22), [*lapis*] *Synnadicus* (XXXV.3), *marmore . . . e Paro insula* (XXXVI.14), [*columnae*] *e Carystio aut Luniensi* (XXXVI.48), *limina ex Numidico marmore* (XXXVI.49), *Luculleo marmori* (XXXVI.49), *columnae porphyrite lapide* (XXXVI.88) and *Phrygius lapis* (XXXVI.143).[36] When Pliny employs the noun *Phryx*, he refers to the Phrygian people, not to the commodities of their homeland.[37] I conclude that neither the

archaeological nor the philological evidence backs up the established reading *columnis e Phrygibus*.

How do Latin manuscripts hand down this passage? To answer this question we need to consult four early Latin codices of Pliny's text.[38] Two of them, (*vetustior*) Bambergensis class. 42 of the tenth century (Schneider 1986: 122 fig. 1) and (*alterius familiae*) Vindobonensis CCXXXIV of the twelfth or thirteenth century, transmit *columnis e Phrygibus*. The other two, both *prioris familiae*, Florentinus Riccardianus 488 of the eleventh century (Schneider 1986: 123 fig. 2) and Parisinus Latinus 6797 of the thirteenth century, hand down *columnis et Phrygibus*. These four main codices prove no less than that both readings are equally viable.[39] But why have classicists and archaeologists never considered the alternative reading *columnis et Phrygibus* a worthy option? As most scholars were unfamiliar with the fragmentary evidence of the Basilica Paulli and its Asian statues in Phrygian marble, the translation 'columns made of Phrygian marble' was a plausible option despite its archaeological and philological shortcomings, as discussed above. But, in fact, it is the published archaeological data of the Basilica Paulli which enable us to disclose and correct the flaws of the established reading. It is the 'lectio difficilior' of *columnis et Phrygibus* which allows us to relate archaeology, philology and history to each other and to explain why Pliny praised, in particular, the Basilica Paulli with its cutting-edge design and imagery as one of the three most beautiful works the world had ever seen.

But who were the Phrygians Pliny so prominently alludes to? In Roman literature *Phryx* predominantly signifies the Trojan. Latin authors such as Accius, Ennius, Virgil, Aetna, Horace, Propertius, Ovid, Vitruvius, Festus, Phaedrus, Seneca, Lucan, Petronius, Pliny and numerous others coming after him often employed *Phryx* when addressing the Trojan.[40] In doing so they adopted a Greek tradition that was in place perhaps as early as the sixth century BC.[41] In Rome, this reference was given a new edge by Augustan writers, who related the Trojan *Phryges* to characteristics such as *magnus*,[42] *semivir*,[43], *pius*,[44] *timidus*[45] and *sophus*.[46] Thus the venerated Trojan forefathers of the imperial Gens Iulia and the people of Rome became the subject of multiple readings connecting conflicting ideologies of affinity and difference to each other. However, it does not come as a surprise that the Trojan *Phryges* were conceived within a wide spectrum of Roman interpretations oscillating between two opposite poles: while the Phrygian forefathers embody Rome's outstanding myth-historical past,[47] the Phrygian strangers exemplify, with their exceptional setting, luxurious representation and submissive function, particular habits of the Asian.

This literary tradition leaves little doubt that Pliny read the Asian statues so prominently displayed in the Basilica Paulli as images of handsome Trojans, whom he called *Phryges* in reference to their homeland. There are good reasons for arguing that the basilica's statues had been understood in this way under Augustus. Here portrayals of Aeneas' son, Iulus Ascanius, another handsome Trojan in Asian dress, were omnipresent in Rome. His image distinguished not only works such as the Ara Pacis, the forum of Augustus and the temple of Mars Ultor, but also wall paintings,

the so-called Tabulae Iliacae, cameos, gems and the like (Schneider 2012). A further Trojan prince showing up in Augustan imagery was Ganymede, Martial's handsome *Phryx puer* (*Epigr.* IX.36.2). Crucial here is the over-life-sized statue of Ganymede being seized by Jupiter in the guise of a huge eagle (Fig. 17.16). This statue was designed as the landmark of the stately villa at Sperlonga (Fig. 17.17).[48] It is the most spectacular image of Ganymede we know of: the only one larger than life, made of Phrygian

Figure 17.16 *Sperlonga, Museo Archeologico. Statue of Ganymede from the stately villa at Sperlonga. Period of Augustus. Munich. Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke.*

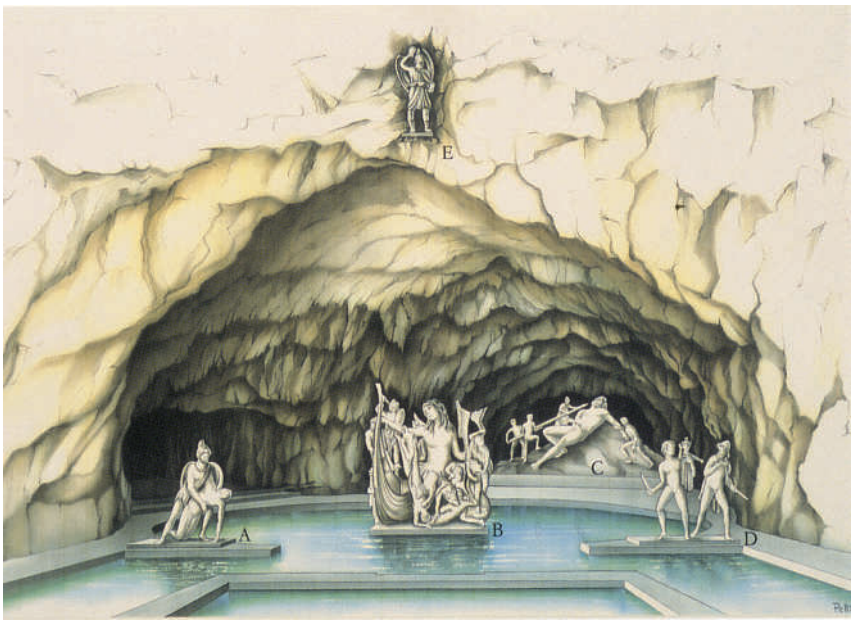

Figure 17.17 *Sperlonga, Museo Archeologico. Reconstruction: grotto of the stately villa at Sperlonga. Period of Augustus. Spivey and Squire 2004: 122-3, fig. 205.*

marble, dressed in Asian garb and located outside to be seen from far away – on top of a huge grotto in which equally spectacular marble sculptures re-enacted narratives from the epic cycle. The basilica's Trojans and the Ganymede of Sperlonga share many features such as high positioning, size, dress, general pose, handsome face, Phrygian cap and Phrygian marble, while hands and heads were separately carved in white marble. Additionally, both Trojans are portrayed as Phrygians who physically embody their Phrygian homeland. In Sperlonga, Ganymede acted as a mythical waiter to high-ranking members of Rome's elite. In Rome, the gallery of Trojan statues, set up high above the ground, acted as myth-historical images of support in the most avant-garde and lavishly decorated basilica of the early Imperial city.

Less obvious yet not impossible is the assumption that the basilica's statues also alluded to the so-called settlement of the Parthian question in 20 BC, claimed by contemporary writers to be Augustus' greatest foreign victory and a major triumph of the Roman west over the Asian east.[49] The architect Vitruvius (*De arch*. I.1.6), who lived under Caesar and Augustus, confirms the political topicality of such portrayals. According to him, statues of Persians (*statuae Persicae*) in rich barbarian dress and posed as (if) supporting architraves were widely set up in architecture for two reasons: to make the eastern enemies tremble for fear of what western bravery could achieve (the latter chimes well with Pliny, who makes this a hallmark of Rome) and to encourage the western viewer to be prepared

to defend his freedom. There is, however, no textual evidence backing the hypothesis that the basilica's *Phryges* could have been (also) read as images of Parthians, especially since Augustan poets usually addressed the latter as Medes, Persians or Achaemenians.[50]

Pliny's columns

A concluding question remains: why did Pliny consider the basilica's columns to be particularly noteworthy and why did he relate them so closely to the Phrygians? As ever, the answer is manifold. The column is a tectonic element and as such associated with the architectural statues of Phrygians in a gesture of support. In addition, the columns and the Phrygians complement each other with their distinct coloured marble, the former in *marmor Luculleum* and *marmor Carystium*, the latter in *marmor Phrygium*. Imperial writers attest an almost idiomatic relationship between columns and pillars in human form. According to Vitruvius (*De arch*. I.1.5), *Caryatides* were set up *pro columnis in opere*. Pliny (*Nat. Hist*. 36.38) affirms for the Pantheon of M. Agrippa *in columnis templi eius Cariatides*. And Pausanias (III.11.3) reports that ἐπὶ τῶν κιόνων Πέρσαι adorned Sparta's renowned Persian Stoa. Pliny's phrase *columnis et Phrygibus* augments this tradition. The prepositions *pro*, *in* or ἐπί indicate that the architectural figures of support were positioned above, attached to or in place of columns (Fig. 17.14 above). This coincides well with the archaeological evidence of figures of structural support which in Graeco-Roman architecture usually ornamented the upper storey.[51] Statius gave the relationship between a column and a pillar in human form a mythical dimension when he praised Domitian's new palace: 'Here is the august building, immense, not with a mere hundred columns but enough to support the heaven and the gods, were Atlas to ease his burden.'[52] In brief, the column is the identifying marker that signifies the function and setting of architectural figures which act or operate as support.

Context matters

By now we have got a better idea of why Pliny praised the Basilica Paulli as one of the three most beautiful works the world had ever seen. But what are the *miracula* in and outside of Rome with which the Basilica Paulli is here competing?[53] Before Pliny starts to focus on Rome's constructions he comments at length on the building works of Egypt (*Nat. Hist*. XXXVI.64–94): obelisks, pyramids, the Sphinx, the Pharos, labyrinths, hanging gardens and the hanging city of Thebes. At the time of Pliny at least five pharaonic obelisks had, for the first time ever, left Egypt and had been transported to Rome, four under Augustus and one under Caligula.[54] Here they were re-erected in the most popular public spaces and transformed into exotic landmarks of the imperial *urbs*: as matchless spoils they made supreme Rome's claim to rule the world. It is obvious

that for Pliny Egypt was a point of reference when it came to Rome.[55] Compared with the wonders of Egypt the list of Greek wonders is short (*Nat. Hist.* XXXVI.94–100). This changes when Pliny tackles the world's top man-made wonders accumulated in Rome. In twenty-four chapters (*Nat. Hist.* XXXVI.101–24) he recites no fewer than eighteen of her numerous *miracula*:

1. Circus Maximus.
2. Forum Augusti.
3. Templum Pacis.
4. Basilica Paul[l]i.
5. Roof of the Saepta Iulia commissioned by M. Agrippa.
6. Roof of a theatre at Rome constructed by the architect Valerius of Ostia.
7. Forum Iulium with reference to the Pharaonic pyramids.
8. Domus of Clodius.
9. Foundations of the Capitol.
10. Public sewers, especially the Cloaca Maxima, transforming Rome like Egyptian Thebes into a hanging city (*urbem pensilem*).
11. Domus of Lepidus.
12. Residence of Caligula.
13. Residence of Nero.
14. Temporary theatre of M. Aemilius Scaurus.
15. Two temporary theatres of C. Curio able to swing around to form an amphitheatre.
16. Aqueduct of Q. Marcius Rex.
17. Works of M. Agrippa including aqueducts, 700 wells and 500 fountains (ornamented with 300 bronze or marble statues[56] and 400 marble columns), and 170 baths.
18. Finally, aqueducts of Caligula and Claudius.

Outside Rome, Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* XXXVI.125) lists the harbour of Ostia and the *miracula* of Italy such as roads, the separation of the Tyrrhenian Sea from Lake Lucrinus by an embankment, vast numbers of bridges and the marble quarries.

Rome's architectonic wonders differ distinctly from the ones Pliny recited before. In striking contrast to Egypt, all the works he listed for Rome address aspects of public and domestic life despite Pliny's scorching criticism of (private) sumptuousness: spaces for political and religious rituals such as the imperial fora; buildings for social and financial activities such as the Basilica Paulli; spaces for mass entertainment and communication such as the Circus Maximus, theatres and baths; complex examples of public infrastructure such as sewers, aqueducts, wells, fountains, roads and bridges; and places for living in, in which, ideally, public and domestic affairs were settled, such as the residences of the emperors and the very rich. In this list of marvellous works the Basilica Paulli stands out as the sole building supplying, besides an exceptional space for the public, a unique gallery of handsome Trojans serving to excite stories about Rome's myth-historical past and her right to claim reign over the world.

For a more nuanced understanding of the basilica, the Trojans and the list of Rome's wonders we need to go back to Pliny's initial chapter, 101. Here he gloats over the fact that Rome has conquered the world with her inimitable works. He relates this claim to the city's outstanding ability to learn over the previous 800 years or, in other words, to appropriate and perfect skills such as strategy, knowledge and technique.[57] In a further step he links the frequency of Rome's victories to the rate of public response to her buildings, which formed, as we have seen above, the city's public infrastructure. In making this point, Pliny refers to a long-standing practice set up by Roman generals. After gaining a victory, they financed major public constructions in the city *de* or *ex manubiis*.[58] This enabled them to turn part of their (vast) military booty into symbolic capital and, thus, enhance their constantly competitive campaigns for more political power in Rome. Then Pliny takes stock, in saying that Rome alone has accomplished so many architectonic wonders that, in doing so, she crafted another *mundus* in addition to the *orbis terrarium* she had already conquered. Finally, Pliny's opening reference to Rome's very beginnings, 800 years before, is connected to the city's claim to her myth-historical descent from Troy. It was Troy's downfall which led to the arrival of Trojans in Latium and the foundation of Rome. It is hardly a coincidence that this claim is at the core of two of the three wonders shortlisted by Pliny: the Basilica Paulli and the forum of Augustus. Yet only the basilica was adorned with a gallery of handsome Trojans meant to endorse forever Rome's claim of universal uniqueness. The reading of the Trojan statues was complemented by the long marble frieze which decorated the nave(s) of the Augustan basilica. The frieze depicts stories of the city's myth-historical past, namely selected narratives of Aeneas and Romulus, her Trojan forefathers.[59]

The array of coloured marble inside the basilica would have fuelled further debates.[60] The over-life-sized statues of the basilica's Trojans were the first of their kind to be sculpted in coloured marble. For them only the most expensive stones had been chosen, mostly *marmor Phrygium*, but occasionally *marmor Numidicum*, which would have permitted allusions to Dido and Aeneas. As the quarries of the two marbles were situated in distant provinces and required a global infrastructure to be transported to Rome, the new polychromes constituted a distinct symbol of the city's global power or, in other words, a new material map of her Empire.[61] The exotic colour and high polish of the basilica's Trojans enhanced their presence, intensity and meaning as they personified commodities never before seen in Rome. The preferred use of Phrygian marble to portray the basilica's *Phryges* opened up further readings. From Augustus onwards this marble became known as *Phrygium* (Schneider 1986: 140–1), signifying the homeland of Troy and, in a wider sense, also that of Rome as her powerful successor. Phrygian marble was not only the most suitable substance for the basilica's Trojans; it also allowed multiple allusions to their famous homeland.[62] As most of the polychromes became Imperial property under Augustus, a new ideology of place, colour, history and power took shape.[63] The earliest known icons of this ideology were the basilica's Trojans (Figs. 17.4–17.7 and 17.12–17.13 above), the Trojan prince Ganymede in Sperlonga (Fig. 17.16 above) and

three over-life-sized statues of handsome kneeling Asians (who carried a bronze tripod) in Rome and Athens, all made of Phrygian marble and set up under Augustus.[64]

Of Trojan origin was not only the Phrygian marble but also the Phrygian cap, an essential of the Near Eastern dress in Graeco-Roman art (Fig. 17.6 above).[65] Juvenal is the first to call the headgear by this name.[66] He describes the *Phrygia bucca tiara* as part of the dress of the *semivir* Gallus, the self-castrated and flamboyantly foreign attendant(s) of Mater Magna, who was, since the period of Augustus, also known as *Mater Deum Magna Idea*, the great Trojan foremother of all gods.[67] Her temple was built on top of the Palatine Hill, next to the temple of Victory. This was a prominent location, with Mater Magna becoming integrated into one of the city's most symbolic landscapes, the core area of her myth-historical past. A military version of the Phrygian cap was the Phrygian helmet. On coins struck in Republican Rome the goddess Roma is sometimes depicted with a Phrygian helmet, another strong marker of Rome's Trojan descent.[68] Later in history, the Phrygian cap served new masters in the west. The most famous was the *bonnet rouge* of the Jacobins in the French Revolution (Wrigley 1997).

Intentional history

The *Phryges* of the Basilica Paulli – wrongly thought to signify the Phrygian marble of columns which did not exist – attest a new visual presence and concept of Trojans in Augustan Rome. They are handsome, exotic, luxurious and portrayed in a stylish pose ready to support, in stone, diverse claims of the new regime: Rome's distinguished myth-historical past; her (seemingly) unlimited control over foreign peoples, resources and homelands; her ability to integrate on a large scale the foreign as an essential of what had made Rome universally distinct; and her ability to transform political claims into pervasive icons of multiple reading. Although we are not yet able to confirm the basilica's Trojans' precise setting, they constituted a spectacular case in point, as a gallery of formerly perhaps forty over-life-sized statues in Trojan marble placed not, as tradition has it, outside on the façade but inside the basilica's abundantly adorned hall. This setting was an exceptional move, as it marked a pointed contrast to the setting of another spectacular gallery of figures of architectural support: the Caryatides in the forum of Augustus.[69] We should keep in mind that the forum was constructed in the immediate vicinity of and at about the same time as the basilica, and that both occupied and perhaps even shared an immense building site (Fig. 17.18). Following the Greek tradition, the Caryatides were displayed outside, in the attic of the two porticoes framing the forum's longer sides. In closest proximity the Basilica Paulli and the Forum Augustum offered two different spaces, two different designs and two different galleries of architectural figures acting or operating as support. In their structural and symbolic function they seem to represent some of Rome's earliest known over-life-sized architectural statues. In this role

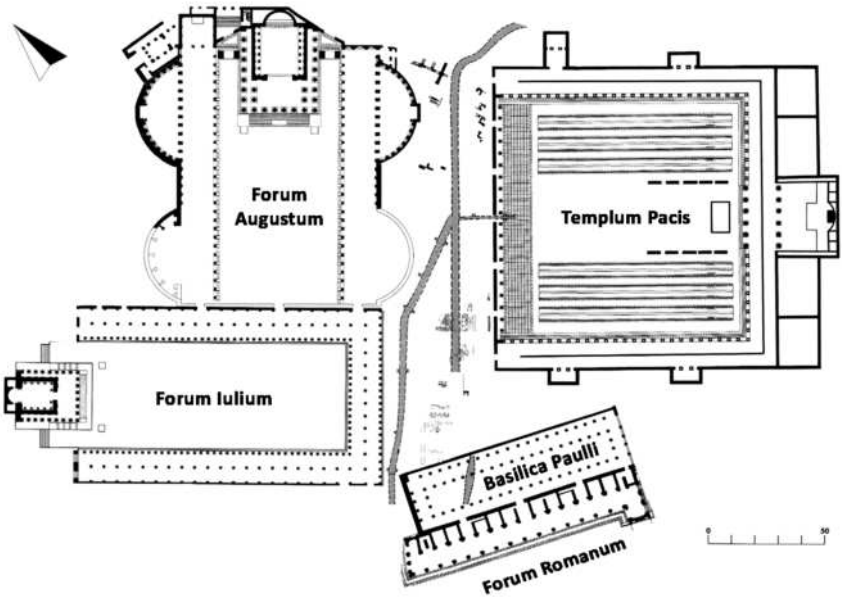

Figure 17.18 *Rome, Imperial fora near the Basilica Paulli. Period of Vespasian. Carnabuci and Braccalenti 2011: 39, fig. 8 (modified).*

they were sure to attract attention and stimulate debate, and contribute to the complex ideologies of Rome's new emperor. What is more, both seem to echo the famous Caryatides and Persian statues cited by Vitruvius (*De arch*. I.1.5–6) as the only two examples of architectural *ornamenta* whose history every architect ought to know.[70] Is all this just a mere coincidence? The basilica's Trojans also facilitated another comparison with Augustus' forum. The Trojan forefathers in the forum – Aeneas, Anchises and Iulus Ascanius – were individualised and distinguished by dress, age and habit,[71] whereas in the basilica they were an anonymous collective characterised by handsome sameness and support.

The basilica's *Phryges* constitute in terms of hermeneutics too a case in point. They show how easily a misunderstanding in scholarship can achieve the status of *communis opinio* and, in doing so, prevent further research. They mark exemplarily that neighbouring disciplines, despite claims to the contrary, like separate tables (Snodgrass 2006). Another obstacle is that statues of *Phryge*s do not fit the clear-cut semantic categories still dominant in philology, archaeology and ancient (art) history. To the present day, images which elude such definite taxonomies are not much liked. They can be understood only when we accept transgressing readings like 'as well as' and do not insist on a categorical 'either/or'. The conflicting interpretations I have suggested for the *Phryges* of the Basilica Paulli are usually even less liked, in particular when they contradict the framework of an intentional and coherent understanding. But this, I argue, neglects a vital agency of intentionality which, especially in the richly conceptualised

realities and imageries of Greece and Rome, was to produce multiple and ostensibly inconsistent readings. It is within the both flexible and normative practice of Rome's 'intentionaler Geschichte' that the exceptional statues of the *Phryges* set up in the extraordinary Basilica Paulli took shape.

I will end with a quotation taken from Michael Frayn's much-debated play *Copenhagen*, which premiered in London in 1998. Frayn re-enacts a controversial but not recorded discussion between Niels Bohr and Werner Heisenberg about the Nazi atomic bomb project when the latter visited Bohr in 1941 in his Copenhagen home. After Heisenberg denied on categorical grounds the existence of a physical anomaly during an experiment both of them had witnessed, Frayn (2000: 65–6) has Bohr reply — touching on an issue which you, Anthony, have always liked to discuss:

> Yes [Heisenberg], and you've never been able to understand the suggestiveness of paradox and contradiction.
>
> That's your problem. You live and breathe paradox and contradiction, but you can no more see the beauty of them than the fish can see the beauty of water.

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Notes

1. www.digitales-forum-romanum.de/gebaeude/basilica-paulli/?lang=en (with further bibliography; last visited 8 July 2016).
2. Ancient texts: Platner and Ashby 1929: 72–6; Bauer 1993a; Steinby 1993; Chioffi 1996: 37–43.
3. Steinby 1993; the archaeological remains which she tentatively attributes to the 'Basilica Aemilia' are too scant to sustain her argument.
4. Freyberger and Ertel 2007: 493 n. 2; Lipps 2011: 23–7.
5. Lanciani 1899; 1900: 3–8; Hülsen 1902: 41–57; 1905: 53–62; Vaglieri 1903: 83–99; Boni 1904.
6. Bartoli 1912; Van Deman 1913.
7. Carettoni 1948; 1960: 192–3.
8. Andreae 1957: 149–77.
9. Bauer 1977; 1988; 1993a; 1993b; Lipps 2011: 24–7 fig. 1.
10. Much of the following information is based on oral communication with Laura Fabbrini and Heinrich Bauer in Rome (1980); see also Boni 1904: 569; Bartoli 1912: 760; Van Deman 1913: 17 fig. 2; Fabbrini 1972: 64; Schneider 1986: 115; Bitterer 2007: 535–9. For the basilica's marble frieze see below, n. 59.
11. Schneider 1986: 115 n. 786 pl. 25; 2002: 86 fig. 2.

12. See above, n. 9.
13. Schneider 1986: 98–102, 115–25; see also above, n. 10.
14. Lipps 2011. A full documentation of the architectonic remains (c. 5,000 photos) is accessible online: http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/arachne/index.php?view[section]=uebersicht&view[layout]=objekt_item&view[caller][project]=&view[page]=1&view[category]=overview&search[data]=ALL&search[mode]=meta&search[match]=similar&view[active_tab]=overview&search[constraints]=basilica%20aemilia%20lipps (last visited 8 July 2016).
15. See above, n. 1.
16. For the date and political context, Hollstein 1993: 224.
17. Freyberger and Ertel 2007; Bitterer 2007; Lipps 2011; 2014.
18. Freyberger and Ertel 2007: 509–11 fig. 19; Lipps 2011: 36–82. For the coloured marbles, Pensabene 2013.
19. Bauer 1993b: 185–6; Freyberger and Ertel 2007: 501–23; Lipps 2011.
20. For this paragraph, Schneider 1986: 98–125; Bitterer 2007: 535–46.
21. See below, n. 48.
22. (Fantastic) figures composed to hold (architectonic) weight without being able to do so in reality became popular in Roman wall painting around 40–20 BC; Strocka 2007.
23. Schneider 1986: 98–138, 200–7 nos. SO 1–52; Landwehr 2000: 74–83 no. 110; Bitterer 2007: 546–9.
24. Castella and Flutsch 1990: 25 fig. 9; Bitterer 2007: 548–9; Schneider 2007: 75 with n. 109.
25. Robert 1963: 498–9; Schneider 1986: 100, 206–7 (SO 44); Berges and Nollé 2000: 336–7, 371, 483–4, 502; Bitterer 2007: 546–7 fig. 63.
26. Schneider 1986: 202 (SO 24), 204 (SO 27), 206–7 (SO 44), 207 (47–52), 209 (SO 63–4), 210 (SO 65–8); Landwehr 2000: 74–83 no. 110.
27. Bauer 1977; 1988; 1993a; 1993b; Lipps 2011: 26–7 figs. 3–4.
28. Freyberger and Ertel 2007: 515 fig. 21; Lipps 2011: 147–9 figs. 133–4; 2014: 156–7 fig. 2.
29. Lipps 2011: 82, 127, 147, emphasising the shortcomings of Bauer's reconstruction.
30. See above, n. 23.
31. Lipps 2011: 80, 143–9, marking the main points in need of revision; 2014: 156–7 figs. 2–3.
32. First shown by Schneider 1986: 120–5; see also Fant 1999: 278.
33. (101) *Verum et ad urbis nostrae miracula transire conveniat DCCCque annorum dociles scrutari vires et sic quoque terrarum orbem victum ostendere. quod accidisse totiens paene, quot referentur miracula, apparebit; universitate vero acervata et in quendam unum cumulum coiecta non alia magnitudo exurget quam si mundus alius quidam in uno loco narretur.* (102) *nec ut circum maximum a Caesare dictatore exstructum longitudine stadiorum trium, latitudine unius, sed cum aedificiis iugerum quaternum, ad sedem* $\overline{CCL}$*, inter magna opera dicamus: non inter magnifica basilicam Pauli columnis e[t] Phrygibus mirabilem forumque divi Augusti et templum Pacis Vespasiani Imp. Aug., pulcherrima operum, quae umquam vidit orbis?*
34. Bostock and Riley 1857; Mayhoff 1897; André et al. 1981; Corso et al. 1988; König and Hopp 1992; Möller and Vogel 2007.
35. Forum Augustum: see below, n. 69. Templum Pacis: see Ungaro 2007: 170–7; Meneghini et al. 2009; Fraioli 2012; Meneghini and Rea 2014: 242–341.
36. For *Phrygia* and *Phryx* in Pliny, see Schneider 1967: 173–4.
37. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* V.145, VII.197, 202, 204, 199, VIII.196, XXX.131.

38. Mayhoff 1897: 'Conspectus Codicum' IV–IX; Kroll 1951: 431–4; André et al. 1981: 36, 45.
39. *Contra* Corso et al. 1998: 659 n. 2, who state that the modern ranking of the four codices provides a decisive argument against *columnis et Phrygibus*. This transcript, I argue, was the 'lectio difficilior' of the lost archetype and kept by Florentinus Riccardianus 488 and Parisinus Latinus 6797, while Bambergensis class. 42, for a better understanding one might argue, corrected the 'lectio difficilior' and either eliminated an irritating 't' or (mis)read 't' as 'x'.
40. Accius, *Nyctegresia* VII.489, ed. D'Anto, 144; Ennius, 332 (*Bruges*), ed. Ribbeck, 64; Virgil, *Aeneid* I.468, II.191, 344, V.785, VII.294, IX.134, 599, 614–20, 635, X.255, XI.145, 170, XII.99; Aetna, 591; Horace, *Od.* I.15.34; Propertius, IV.1.2; Ovid, *Epist.* 186; Ovid, *Met.* XII.70, 612, XIII.389, 435, XV.452; Ovid, *Fasti* IV.223, 272, 274, 943, VI.473; Ovid, *Ibis* 628; Vitruvius, II.1.5; Festus, 364, 510, ed. Lindsay; Phaedrus, *app.* XIII.2, ed. Guaglianone, 100; Seneca, *Agamem.* 206, 550, 705, 743, 758, 869–70, 876, 1005; Seneca, *Troiad.* 29, 125, 277, 434, 462, 469, 474, 532, 571, 758, 864, 888, 955, 1135, 1157; Lucan, IX.976, 999; Petronius, Sat. LXXXIX.2; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VII.202, 8.196. The full evidence is accessible in Munich's splendid *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.
41. Hall 1988; Wilhelm 1988.
42. Virgil, *Aeneid* XI.145, 170.
43. Ibid. XII.99; Martial, *Epigr.* IX.20.8.
44. Ovid, *Fasti* IV.274.
45. Ovid, *Ibis* 628.
46. Phaedrus, *app.* XIII.2, ed. Guaglianone, 100.
47. For 'Mythistorie' within the concept of 'intentionaler Geschichte', see Gehrke 2014.
48. Spivey and Squire 2004: 122–3 fig. 205; Schneider 2012: 88–96.
49. Here and for the following, Schneider 1986: 98–138; 2012: 112–19.
50. Schneider 2007: 70 with n. 91.
51. See above, n. 23.
52. *Silvae IV.2.18–20: tectum augustum, ingens, non centum insigne columnis, sed quantae superos caelumque Atlante remisso sustenare queant.*
53. For Pliny's *miracula* in book XXXVI, see Isager 1986; 1991: 186–203; Carey 2003: 86–9; Favro 2006.
54. *Nat. Hist.* XXXVI.70–4; Schneider 2004; Biermann 2013; Wirsching 2013.
55. For further comments on Egypt and Rome, Isager 1991: 190–9; Swetnam-Burland 2015.
56. Not acknowledged by Corso et al. 1998: 659 n. 2, who claim 'Plinio sta qui parlando dell'impiego del marmo (*sic*) in elementi e impianti architettonici trai quali non inserisce alcuna raffigurazione scolpita o dipinta.'
57. For forms of Augustan transformation of Roman knowledge, Wallace-Hadrill 2007.
58. Shatzman 1972; Koch 2009; Tarpin 2009; Kay 2014: 87–106.
59. Schneider 1986: 118; Kränzle 1994; Freyberger and Ertel 2007: 502–8; Lipps 2011: 52–3, reviewing the controversy about the frieze's location.
60. Schneider 1986: 139–60; 2001; 2002; Pensabene 2013.
61. A map of Roman marble quarries is provided in Wittke et al. 2007: 84.
62. For example, Statius, *Silv.* I.5.36–7, who recounts that the Phrygian Attis had coloured the Phrygian marble by staining it with shiny drops of his own blood.

63. Schneider 1986: 139–60; Maischberger 1997: 18–19; Bradley 2009.
64. Schneider 1986: 18–97, 188–95 nos. KO 1–3; 2002: 84–8; Fejfer 2002.
65. Hinz 1974: 790–2; Seiterle 1985; Schneider 1986: 123–4; Rose 2005: 34–5.
66. Juvenal, *Sat.* VI.513–16: *semivir (sc. Gallus) . . . plebeia et Phrygia vestitur bucca tiara.*
67. Here and for the following, Schneider 2012: 122.
68. Crawford 1974: nos. 19.2, 21.1, 22.1, 24.1, 26.4, 27.5, 41.1, 98A.3, 102.2b–c, 269.1, 288.1, 464.3b; Rose 2002: 331–2 fig. 3.
69. Zanker 1968; Kockel 1995; Spannagel 1999; La Rocca 2001; Haselberger and Humphrey 2006: 127–30, 183–90; Ungaro 2007: 118–69; Geiger 2008; Meneghini 2009: 59–78; Carnabuci and Braccalenti 2011; Boschung 2014.
70. Schneider 1986: 103–8; King 1998: 275–89; Lesk 2007.
71. Spannagel 1999: 90–131, 365–96 nos. A 1–A 141; Smith 2013: 204–6 no. D4, 292–3.

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Section VI

The Scholar in the University and in the Field

18

Anthony in Edinburgh

Keith Rutter

Anthony served in the University of Edinburgh for fifteen years from 1961 to 1976. These were crucial years for his development as a scholar and as an archaeologist. What I have to say about the Edinburgh years is essentially in two parts, one more serious, the other more light-hearted, but I hope that both together will help to illuminate the man in Edinburgh.

In the 1960s and 1970s Classics at Edinburgh was organised in four separate departments, and I was in Greek, housed in the relatively new David Hume Tower on the eastern side of George Square. Anthony's department, Classical Archaeology, was some distance away, in older accommodation (built 1769–74) on the other side of the Square. There, in a shed in a small garden area behind the building, was kept a cast collection of ancient sculptures. You will be pleased to know, Anthony, that these casts have recently been rescued, cleaned and set up in pleasant surroundings to adorn the new and handsome accommodation for Classics in a building that once housed the Medical School of the University.

In the course of his first ten years in Edinburgh Anthony published *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* in 1964, and *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* in 1967. *The Dark Age of Greece* greeted my arrival in 1971, and *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment* was in preparation (it was published in 1980, after he went to Cambridge). The first and third of these volumes were handsomely crafted and published by the Edinburgh University Press, and you will no doubt remember, Anthony, the ebullient Secretary to the Press at that time, Archie Turnbull. You also acknowledged in your preface to *The Dark Age* the 'patience, tact and trouble' of the great editor Walter Cairns. Edinburgh University Press didn't just produce books, it produced works of art, and from a personal point of view I can say that this whole experience, both the inspiration of Anthony's intellectual achievements and also the insights into how one could transfer the results of one's researches onto the pages of a beautiful book, had a profound and lasting influence on me. You appreciate poetry, Anthony, and I offer you the recent sentiments of Carol Ann Duffy, part of a poem composed in connection with the current exhibition of beautiful books in Cambridge University Library: 'a living link / around the precious charm of a book. / Woodcutter to printer; ink's solemn vow to page; / word and image in their beautiful Renaissance dance.'

Anthony's Sather Lectures were delivered and published later, in 1984/5 and 1987 respectively, but many of the themes of those lectures – the nature of Classical Archaeology and its relationships with Classics, Ancient History, Archaeology, History of Art (what one of our speakers this weekend called 'the re-calibration of Classical archaeology') – were born and were nurtured while he was in Edinburgh. His immediate neighbours along the corridor in 19, George Square, in the Department of Archaeology, were the likes of Stuart Piggott, the Abercromby Professor of Archaeology, David Ridgway, the excavator of Pithecusae (or 'Apeville' as I've heard him call it), and Trevor Watkins, whose interests lie in Syria and Mesopotamia. Another highly influential colleague in the University was Liam Hudson, Professor of Educational Psychology, who was developing his ideas on 'convergent' and 'divergent' types of intellect. His book *Contrary Imaginations* was published in 1966. All this was fermenting in the Edinburgh of the 1960s and 1970s.

For all that Anthony and I were in separate departments that were housed in physically separate buildings, there was an important unifying factor: we were both members of the Faculty of Arts. Although since that time Edinburgh University has lost its F(f)aculties in favour of a system of Schools, it was at a Faculty event early in my time in Edinburgh (1971) that I first met Anthony. He was then Associate Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and one of his pleasant duties was to lead the induction session for new recruits to the academic staff, and in particular to explain to them the *arcana* of the Edinburgh degree system, the MA General and all that. Of course his presentation was illustrated with highly informative visual material including graphs. I talked with him afterwards and the conversation quickly turned from academic matters to common interests, in particular walking in the mountains of Scotland. I think Wagner came into it as well (though not Nietzsche). I've always remembered Anthony's up-beat words as we parted: 'There's no problem a day on the hills won't help to solve.'

I couldn't agree more with Anthony's thoughts about the therapeutic qualities of hill-walking – I wonder if the same applies to archaeological survey work – and over the years my appreciation of his wisdom was to grow, frequently in his company. We were fortunate that for several years in the 1970s and 1980s there was a group of around half-a-dozen Edinburgh classicists who were keen walkers: Theo Cadoux, Bill Nicoll, David Robinson, James Wright, Allan Hood, and we were usually joined by John Goodall, who taught Classics at Kelso High School, of whom more later (Figs. 18.1 and 18.2). We would occasionally go out into Perthshire or beyond for a day's walking from Edinburgh, but the highlight of the year was undoubtedly a sort of 'Easter Mountain Meet', based on a week or ten days usually in a comfortable Highland hotel: Glenfinnan, Dundonnell, Ratagan, Kinlochewe, Inchnadamph. I don't normally keep a diary, but I do keep a record of the walks I've done, and so I have several notebooks containing lyrical accounts of those mountain holidays. One aspect of them that my diary insists on is that the food and drink were usually first rate and were always appreciated. Highland hospitality is no myth.

Figure 18.1 *With Theo Cadoux on the walk in to Carnmore bothy, 28 March 1971.*

Figure 18.2 *With Bill Nicoll, Theo Cadoux and David Robinson, third morning of stay at Carnmore bothy, 1971.*

For several of us on these excursions to the mountains one of the aims (though by no means the only one of course) was to climb to the summits of peaks listed in *Munro's Tables of the 3,000-feet Mountains of Scotland*, first published in 1891 and revised many times since. This is an activity known as 'Munro bagging'. Study of the Munros, so called from the name

of the man who first catalogued them, Sir Hugh Munro, is an academic discipline in its own right and the subject of intense scrutiny by afficionados. You can come across articles with titles like 'Some unsolved problems in Munro-ology'. What exactly *is* a Munro? How does one define it and distinguish it from something that is a mere separate mountain? Currently there are I think 282 Munros, but over the years there have been many re-classifications of summits, either promoted to Munro status or deleted from the list, in the light of fresh and more accurate observations of height. All wonderful material for a seminar over dinner or when we'd had enough of Scrabble.

With the Munros as in other activities there is a sense in which it is better to travel than to arrive, but there comes a time when you are in sight of 'compleating' your Munros. Anthony's final Munro was Ben Lomond, which dominates many views of Loch Lomond (Fig. 18.3). I recorded that the party set off from Rowardennan at the foot of the mountain at 1.15 p.m. and entered mist at about 1,500 feet. After that there were no long-distance views, but we reached the summit just after 3.00 with a sense of blue sky above us and enough sunshine to create shadows. The summit champagne party lasted for well over an hour; we started down at half-past four and returned to Rowardennan at 6.00, just in time to avoid the worst of a massive thunderstorm that had been threatening for some time.

I mentioned earlier John Goodall, the teacher of Classics from Kelso. Among John's many other accomplishments he likes to paint Highland

Figure 18.3 *Anthony's final Munro: the summit of Ben Lomond, 6 June 1982.*

scenes, not the rather sentimental sort with Highland cattle paddling in sun-dappled lochs, but of a more robust, wild-weather kind. I recall Anthony walking into the lounge of a hotel where some of the former were displayed for sale. Anthony's immediate reaction: 'Ripe for Goodallisation'. John Goodall is now in his ninetieth year and regrets very much that he cannot be with us today. Instead he has done a small painting of the Munro A'Mhaighdean, viewed from near the bothy of Carnmore, the base for one of the Edinburgh classicists Easter 'meets'. To recall many a day of fresh air in the rain and the sun and problem-solving exploration of the Highlands and Munros of Scotland, it is my pleasure to present the painting to Anthony on John's behalf.

19

Anthony McElrea Snodgrass and the Classics Faculty in Cambridge: A Personal Appreciation

Paul Cartledge

It is a privilege to be able to write this personal, very personal, appreciation of my long-term colleague Anthony Snodgrass. I met him first in Oxford in the early 1970s, when I was, as he had been before me, a doctoral pupil of John Boardman – then just plain 'Mr' Boardman, the University's Reader in Classical Archaeology. In 1979 we became direct academic colleagues within the Faculty of Classics at Cambridge, though divided (somewhat) by subdisciplinary affiliation – he being a member of the 'D' Caucus (Classical Art and Archaeology), I of the 'C' Caucus (Ancient History). In 1981 there began a different sort of academic-cum-social association when, thanks very significantly to Anthony, I was elected a Fellow of Clare College. That last association continues as strongly as ever in our now joint retirement from our University posts in the Faculty.

It was very largely the example of Anthony, which had already been followed by John Salmon (Corinth), another 'crypto-archaeologist' (Boardman's term), that determined me to enter in 1969 on the path of historical Classical archaeology, or Classical archaeo-history, for my Oxford doctorate. My special topic (early Sparta c. 950–650 BC) was of course ostensibly narrower in geographical and chronological scope than any of Anthony's enterprises, but we had in common at least a particular interest in armour and weapons, and in the historicity of Homer. His first three major books, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* (1964), *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (1967) and *The Dark Age of Greece* (1971), quickly became my boon reading companions as well as research inspirations. In fact, my interest in doing a doctorate at all, and the sort of doctorate I undertook, went back to the paper I took in Oxford Classical 'Mods' in 1967 on 'Homeric Archaeology' (wonderful title), which was taught by the inimitable D. H. F. 'Dolly' Gray of St Hugh's. And it was at a paper Anthony gave to the Oxford Philological Society raising the question of 'An historical Homeric society?' that I first met Anthony in person. (The talk was ultimately published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (*JHS*) for 1974, under that title. I'd judge its impact to be potentially as important for Homeric-historical studies as Moses Finley's essays in *JHS* volume 84,

1964, and in his *Aspects of Antiquity* collection, on the non-historicity of the Trojan War.)

My next in-person encounter was at the AGM of the Cambridge Philological Society in May 1979, by which time I had been elected to the University Lectureship in Classics that I held for the next fourteen years. Three years before that, Anthony had himself moved from Edinburgh to Cambridge as Laurence Professor of Classical Archaeology and used his Inaugural Lecture to set down a marker for the kind of new – quantitative, non-idealist or idealising – approach he was advocating to some of the most important questions about proto-historical or early historical Greece, not excluding the 'rise' of the state-form that Greeks referred to both abstractly and concretely as the *polis*. For this exercise, he depended significantly on evidence from Attica and the Argolid, and in particular on evidence from formal burials of various types, from which he drew demographic as well as more broadly political inferences. Hence his title 'Archaeology and the Rise of the Greek State' (published by the Cambridge University Press, 1977).

Not that there was anything new about Anthony's own peculiar attention to quantification. Over a decade earlier, in *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* (very much not a 'Classical' journal) for 1965, and then again in *Dark Age of Greece*, he had set himself to answer the question of when at any rate the most technologically advanced areas of the Greek world made the transition from the latest Bronze Age to the earliest Iron Age. Of course, the approach and what would later be called the database were vulnerable to the systematic hazards of survival, discovery and publication, but by the seemingly simple expedient of counting up the respective proportions of bronze to iron used in the classes of key cutting-edge tools, implements and weapons over a period of several centuries during what then would have been uncontroversially labelled the 'Dark Age', he was able to offer a pretty convincing set of answers. Convincing enough to me, at any rate.

But even so, I think it would be fair to say that not many people could have predicted the nature of his next book, one that I would say is still, more than three decades later, the or at least a leader in its field: *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment* (1980). By the time that was published, I as noted above was myself his Cambridge (though not yet his Clare College) colleague, and I was therefore fair game for a request from one of his graduate students to review the book for an in-house (very in-house) magazine called – probably quite aptly – *FARRAGO*. I still have a copy of the issue in question, labelled perhaps a little pretentiously 'Michaelmass I' (1980). Over five-and-a-half typed and cyclostyled pages I gave it my all: full summary of the main arguments and conclusions, topped and tailed by my opening reflections on the odd decision of the publisher (Dent) to illustrate the dust jacket with an image of Roman Corinth, and by my concluding paragraph:

> Archaic Greece, then, is at bottom a *Tendenzschrift*, with the heightened chiaroscuro and selective emphases that this genre entails. In self-justification S. might quote (yet more!) of his favourite poet: 'I've

simplified the facts to be emphatic / Playing Macaulay's favourite little trick / Of lighting that's contrasted and dramatic' (W. H. Auden, *Letter to Lord Byron*). But for a *Schrift* with this *Tendenz*, and one written with such genial authority and immense learning so lightly worn, there is really no need for special justification. It should be in the hands of all students of Archaic Greece from 6th-formers upwards.

I nearly forgot – the name of *FARRAGO*'s editor? One Robin Osborne, then still embroiled in what would become *DEMOS: The Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge University Press, 1985) and a stalwart of what was familiarly referred to as C.A.B.B.A.G.E. (the Cambridge and Bradford Boeotian Expedition) and later metamorphosised into the Bradford/Cambridge Boeotia Project, co-directed by Anthony with John Bintliff. Intensive field survey, at first exclusively rural, later rural–urban combined, was not an invention of Old World, Mediterranean archaeology, but that it was taken up so enthusiastically and so effectually in Classical Mediterranean-lands archaeology was due very largely to the efforts of Anthony and his co-labourers in the vineyard.

And very controversially, too. There have been several notorious Cambridge intellectual stand-offs over the years: for example, C. P. Snow versus F. R. Leavis, and Colin McCabe versus Christopher Ricks, and that's just within the English Faculty. Archaeology too, outside as well as inside Cambridge, has had its 'great divides' – part methodological, part ideological; and the 1980s saw a particularly fierce, almost binary division and opposition within Classical Archaeology between (so to say) the old-style qualitative connoisseurship wallahs and the all brand-new, thrusting, quantitative field survey johnnies, interested not in the aesthetics of style or event-oriented archaeology but in the earthy factors and vectors of quantitative material production and long-term everyday styles of living. I tried to capture and to moderate some of this argument in a think-piece I was invited to write for the *Times Literary Supplement*: 'A new Classical archaeology?' (*TLS*, 12 September 1986: 1011–12). But I was rather uncomfortably aware that the fallout from it was not merely academic, but might also take on a personal dimension, and, as in the case of the contemporary spat between my old undergraduate Ancient History tutor at Oxford (G. E. M. de Ste Croix) and the immediately preceding incumbent of the Cambridge Ancient History chair (Moses Finley), I strove to achieve some sort of reconciliation between my old supervisor and his most distinguished former doctoral pupil. Probably without achieving any major success, to be honest, although Anthony and I did both appear in the Festschrift for (by now Sir John) Boardman that Anthony co-edited: *PERIPLOUS. Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to Sir John Boardman* (Thames & Hudson, 2000). In any case, anything I might have said on the conceptual-theoretical side was almost immediately overtaken by Anthony's *An Archaeology of Greece: The Present State and Future Scope of a Discipline* (University of California Press, 1987), the book of his Sather Lectures at Berkeley. This major volume, together with the five essays collected in part I ('Credo') of his *Archaeology and the Emergence of Greece* (Edinburgh University Press,

2006), constitute his most major contributions towards reorienting the theoretical approach to and constructions of Classical Archaeology.

Another of Anthony's stellar graduate students from that 1980s era (and I could have mentioned several others, not least our joint Clare student, Sue Alcock) was Ian Morris, the book of whose PhD thesis looked directly back, in subject matter, approach and titulature alike, to Anthony's Cambridge Inaugural: *Burial and Ancient Society: The Rise of the Greek City-State* (Cambridge University Press, 1987). Its timing could not have been more opportune. With another Cambridge colleague (Peter Garnsey) I founded at the end of the 1980s a still happily vibrant monograph series hosted by the Press, which we entitled 'Key Themes in Ancient History'. Ian together with Rosalind Thomas were our first two authors to be commissioned, and both duly delivered outstandingly fruitful books, Ian's being entitled *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (1992). Little did I dream then that the number-crunching graduate student Ian would go on to become the most imaginative and mind-bending author of works of global history aimed at the widest possible publics. Perhaps Anthony did so dream, however.

Anthony retired as Laurence Professor in 2001, still astonishingly youthful not only in appearance but also in outlook and address. A diet of *Private Eye* and socialist politics would have been an unusual combination for a scholar thirty or forty years younger than he, but it was – and possibly still is – meat and drink for the preternaturally youthful 'Snoddy'. He remains of course intensely active even on the threshold of his ninth decade. Ever a campaigner, he chaired for many years the British Committee for the (at first 'Restitution', now more aptly) Reunification of the Parthenon Marbles, a cause dear to my own heart too. On the academic front (the military metaphor is deliberate), I hope it won't be thought too invidious if I single out for mention his very recent participation in a project that involves perhaps our one serious academic quarrel or at least disagreement: the 'rise' or emergence of hoplite warfare in Archaic Greece and its political and social implications and consequences. If I may put it rather crudely, I am a 'sudden-change' merchant, Anthony a 'piecemeal gradualist' – the arguments are rehearsed in a collective volume edited by Don Kagan and his former graduate pupil Greg Viggiano that arose out of a conference organised by them at Yale: *Men of Bronze: Hoplite Warfare in Ancient Greece* (Princeton University Press, 2012). But this could hardly be called the widest or deepest intellectual gap imaginable.

Finally: in anticipation of writing this piece, but of course without disclosing the Machiavellian motivation behind my request, I asked Anthony by email what he would judge to be – or would most like to be judged by others to be – his three most important contributions to the various scholarly fields in which he has engaged over the past half-century (I have touched on only a few of them). He replied:

> I would say (1) theoretical reorientation of Classical Archaeology (only partially successful, see Bruce Trigger, *History of Archaeological Thought*, 2nd edn 2008 reprint, pp. 501–2) and (2) redirection of our attention to agriculture and not so-called 'commerce' – even more

> contested in, e.g., Oxford. (3) Perhaps least appreciated of all, yet in the long run most important, is the work on the introduction of iron.

Agreed! Especially with the last of those three. And I venture to hope that what I have written above – and of course the present volume as a whole, under John Bintliff and Keith Rutter's expert direction – may play their part in effecting such a desiderated commemorative transition or rather transformation. That concludes my personal homage to the single most stimulating Classical archaeological theorist of my – and I suspect very many others' – recent experience.